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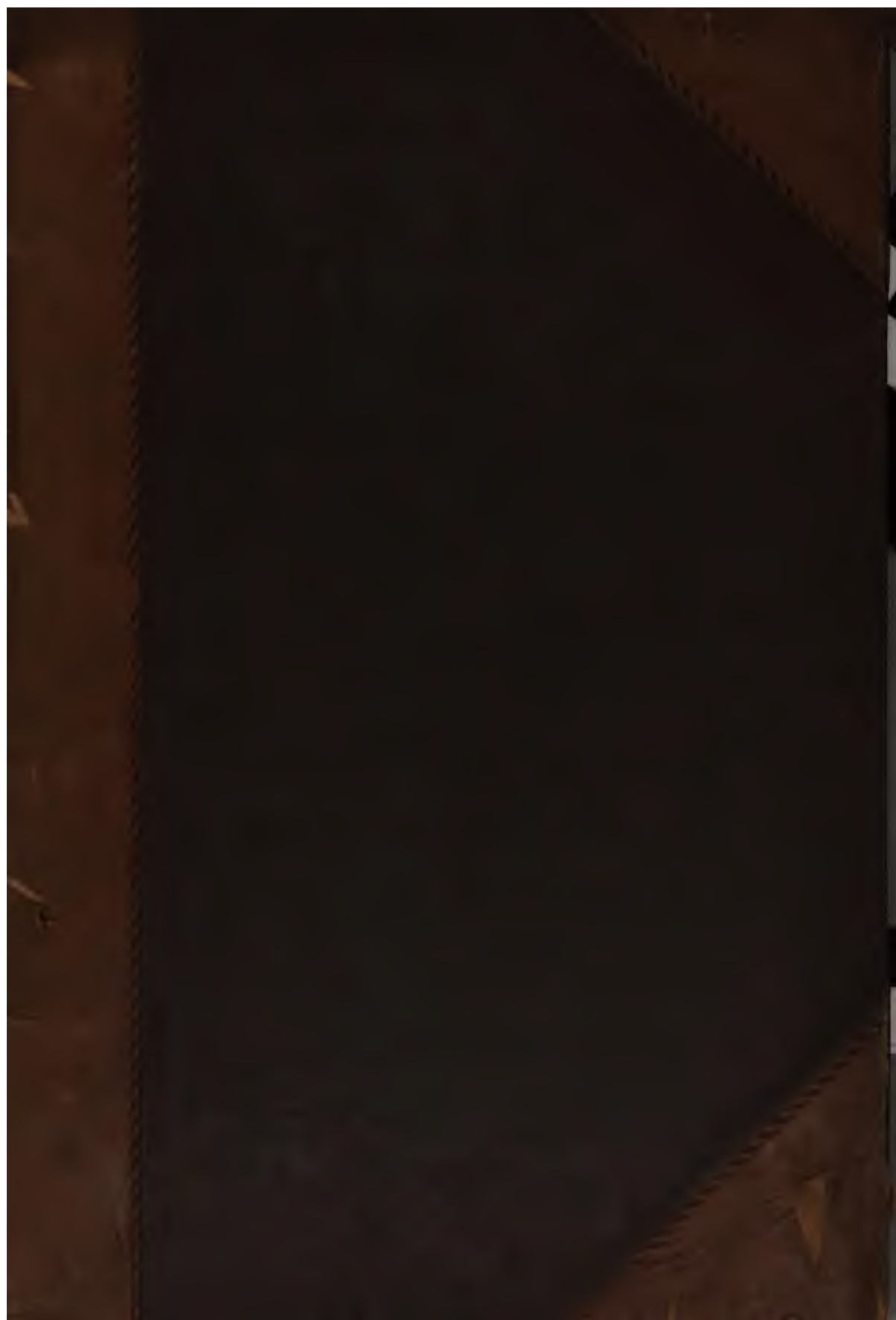
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ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE

"APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MOHAMED."

14.1830

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON A WORK,

ENTITLED,

"AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE
CELEBRATED PROPHET OF ARABIA,

CALLED

MOHAMED,

OR,

The Illustrious;

BY GODFREY HIGGINS, ESQ."

WITH

ANNOTATIONS.

BY

THE REV. P. INCHBALD, LL. D.

FORMERLY OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Tαὐτὰ μὲν ἦν πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας.

PLUT. ADVERSUS COLOTEM.

DONCASTER:

CHARLES AND JAMES WHITE, BAXTER-GATE;

AND

F. C. J. AND G. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND
WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL, LONDON.

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PREFACE.



LUTHER has well remarked, that works of a sceptical character may and ought to be read and answered. Investigation leads to the detection of error : what on a hasty view seems plausible, when more closely examined, is found to be untenable ; and truth rises with renovated strength from every attempt to suppress it. In this sentiment I fully concur.

Whoever judges of the contents of the “Apology for the Life and Character of Mohamed” by its title, will find himself mistaken. The life and tenets of the Arabian form not the exclusive subject of disquisition : there is carried on through the work an underplot, which I am by no means convinced was not uppermost

in the mind of the author. This underplot, I regret to say, is nothing less than an attempt to weaken the claims of revelation to be received as the wisdom and power of God. Had the Apologist confined his remarks to the subject selected for illustration, and been content to vindicate the founder of Islamism from what he conceived to be misrepresentation, he might perhaps have escaped animadversion, and obtained at least the praise of consistency. In that case his readers might indeed have been surprised at his taste, and amused with the peculiarity of his notions ; but could have had no ground of complaint, that the subject-matter of the work did not correspond with the title. But Mr. Higgins has not done this : he has stepped beyond the prescribed limits : he has extolled Mohamedanism, which he was entitled to do : he has attacked Christianity, which fell not within the range of his argument. Owing to this, his publication by men of exact judgment will doubtless be regarded as a failure. At the same time, it may be matter of consolation to the Apologist, that he has not succeeded in a field in which Gibbon himself was unfortunate. His prejudices against Christianity might have been spared.

The object of the author in the following pages is not to give a life of Mohamed, nor furnish a connected view of his opinions. The reader is supposed to be in possession of the principal incidents in the life of that extraordinary man: and in respect to his tenets, the subjoined Extract from Butler's "*Horæ Biblicæ*" will sufficiently inform those, who have not much attended to the subject, of the nature of his religious system.

"In the same manner as the word "*Christendom*" is used
 "as a general denomination for all the countries inhabited by
 "the nations who profess the religion of Christ, the word
 "*Islam* is a general denomination for the countries inhabited
 "by the nations, who profess the religion of Mahomet. It
 "signifies an absolute submission of mind and body to God,
 "and to the revelation he has made of his divine will by
 "Mahomet, his prophet. Thus the fundamental creed of
 "Mahomet is described in two articles—"there is but one
 "God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God!" His precepts
 "are reduced to four: prayer, preceded by purification as a
 "necessary preparation; fasting; alms; and a pilgrimage,
 "once at least in a life, to the Temple of Mecca. His dis-
 "ciples are taught to expect a day of resurrection and
 "general judgment: they believe the doom of infidels will

“be everlasting punishment, to be measured by the degree of
 “their moral guilt and obstinacy in rejecting the evidence
 “offered them of Islamism; but that all believers, by their
 “faith in God, and through the intercession of Mahomet, will
 “be admitted to everlasting felicity: that while the felicity
 “of the perfect, as the saints and martyrs, will be the enjoy-
 “ment of a superlative degree of intellectual pleasure, the
 “general body of Mussulmauns will be blessed with an abun-
 “dance of sensual enjoyments. They believe in God’s ab-
 “solute decrees, and the predetermination both of good and
 “evil; in the existence of angels, whom they believe to be
 “ministers of the word of God, pure and subtile spirits,
 “propagated by fire. They believe, that from the beginning,
 “there has been a series of prophets; that all of them were
 “free from great sins, and even great errors; and that six of
 “them, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet,
 “rising in a gradation of merit, the latter always above the
 “former, brought new dispensations of law from heaven:
 “that each, successively, abrogated the preceding; that many
 “of the prophets received from God himself revelations in
 “writing of the divine will, all of which are lost, except the
 “Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Koran; that
 “the three first are miserably corrupted and falsified; that
 “the last is divinely inspired, every word, every letter of it
 “being uncreated and incorruptible, and subsisting through

"eternity in the essence of the Deity; that God himself, by
 "his angel Gabriel, delivered it to Mahomet, his last prophet,
 "his high priest in spiritual concerns, his supreme prince in
 "temporals, and who, by himself or his successors, is, by the
 "supernatural and consequently irresistible force of his arms,
 "to establish in every kingdom of the world, the saving
 "doctrine of the Koran. Circumcision is not mentioned in
 "the Koran: but it is practised as a divine institution, re-
 "vealed by Abraham to Mahomet. Two places the Mussul-
 "mauns hold in particular veneration; one the Temple of
 "Mecca; it contains the Caaba, or square house. To the
 "Temple of Mecca every Mahometan directs his look when
 "he prays, and this supposed aspect of it they call the
 "*Kebla*. The other object of their veneration is the Temple
 "at Medina, where the prophet preached and was buried.
 "Such are the principal tenets and rites of the Mahometans,
 "but the only necessary article of faith, the only article
 "required to be professed by a Mussulmaun, is the unity of
 "God, and the divine mission of Mahomet. Having pro-
 "nounced the words, "I believe in one God, and in Mahomet
 "the apostle of God," the proselyte is considered to be a
 "perfect Mussulmaun. They look on unbelievers with con-
 "tempt and abhorrence; but the Magians, as followers of
 "Abraham, the Jews, as followers of Moses, and the Chris-
 "tians, as followers of Christ, are ranked by them far above

“polytheists, idolaters, and atheists. In opposition to those
 “they call the Magians, Jews, and Christians, from the
 “written revelations they suppose to have been made to
 “them by Abraham, Moses, and Christ, the people of the
 “written law.”*

Mr. Butler ought a little to have qualified the assertion, that the Mohamedans rank Christians far above idolaters. One name by which they designate Christians is “*Mushbrikūna*,” which signifies “*associators*,” or persons who associate Christ with God. For this Mohamedans charge Christians with being idolaters: though at the same time they do call them “people of the written law.”

* *Horæ Biblicæ*, p. 256—259.

ANIMADVERSIONS.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE

"APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MOHAMED."

I TOOK up the "Apology for the Life and Character of Mohamed" with interest. I remembered that its author, Godfrey Higgins, Esq. some years ago exerted himself with credit and success in reforming the abuses which had crept into our asylums, and banishing mystery and cruelty from those abodes of human wretchedness. For these services he received the thanks of every liberal and feeling mind.* On closing the book, I could not suppress the wish, that Mr. Higgins had continued to direct his attention to subjects which, according to my views, are more suitable to engage the leisure of a country gentleman, than theological and metaphysical speculations. I am old-fashioned enough to be of opinion, that such a one is usefully employed when he is taking a part in encouraging agricultural societies,—in forwarding public improve-

Introductory
Remarks.

*—And, as I think he ought to have done, those of the COUNTRY: never was such testimony more honourably earned. I confess that, whenever I advert to the struggle carried on in 1814, whether the system of abuse and cruelty, proved to have existed for years in the York Asylum, should be mantled over, or exposed to deserved reprobation, I find only one feature in the proceedings calculated to pain the generous mind,—it is that of the *niggard* and *reluctant* manner in which Mr. Higgins's good-Samaritan services on that occasion were acknowledged. See

ments in his neighbourhood,—or in sanctioning by his influence institutions, which have for their object the diffusion of knowledge and goodness among mankind. I mean not positively to exclude more intellectual pursuits: I know, and it is a proud thing for England that it is so, that the present race of our country gentlemen are generally educated characters,—that most of them have gone through the usual course of study at our universities, and many, of late years particularly, with distinguished credit. I shall not, therefore, be misunderstood as maintaining, that the prosecution of even the more abstruse parts of knowledge is beyond their attainments;—I know the contrary to be the truth; still I assert that they turn their leisure to a more useful account by attending to those practical duties of life, which may be said more properly to belong to persons occupying their station in society. Whether this opinion be just or not, others must decide:

the *York Courant* of that date. Something like justice, indeed, was done Mr. Higgins in the following resolution, passed at a meeting of the General Court of Governors of the Institution in 1815, when the Venerable Earl Fitzwilliam presided: “This Court, contemplating the great improvements made in the state of the House, “feels a pleasure in acknowledging its *great obligations* to GODFREY HIGGINS, Esq. “to whose zeal and perseverance the origin of these improvements must in a great “measure be ascribed.” Mr. Higgins has properly placed upon record the proceedings connected with that IMPORTANT investigation in two publications, one entitled, “A Letter to the Earl Fitzwilliam on the Abuses at the York Asylum;” the other, “Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, “with Observations and Notes, and a Letter to the Committee,” &c., both printed at Doncaster. In looking back on the part he took in this triumph of humanity, Mr. Higgins was entitled to use the following language: “The business has been “attended with much trouble and anxiety to myself, but I feel conscious that I “have done my duty as a magistrate in bringing forward the case of the unhappy “Vickers: and as a Christian in advocating the cause of the unfortunate and “friendless lunatic: and in this consciousness I have my reward.”—Letter to Earl Fitzwilliam, p. 29. On adverting to the subjects which have *lately* occupied Mr. Higgins’s pen, I cannot help exclaiming—quantum mutatus ab illo! Those subjects will afford no such consolation in the retrospect.

certainly I cannot pay Mr. Higgins the compliment of saying, that I think the time he has consumed in preparing the present publication, has been beneficially employed. I cannot for my part conceive what good purpose, either on the minds or the morals of his readers, is likely to be answered by it. The object of the publication, as stated by Mr. Higgins himself in the preface, is said to be—"to abate the mischievous "spirit of intolerance which has hitherto existed between the followers of Jesus and those of Mohamed, "by showing that the religions of both, however unfortunately changed by time, are the same in their "original foundation and principle; and that if he "should succeed in the slightest degree in exciting or "increasing a brotherly feeling toward the professors "of the Mohamedan faith, so many millions of our "fellow subjects, he will be amply rewarded." In the outset, I assure Mr. Higgins I have no consciousness of any intolerant feeling towards the followers of Mohamed,—the only feeling I have toward them is one of sympathy, and concern that they should continue to adhere to a system which I consider a delusion, with a desire to do what I can by the spread of Christian knowledge, to introduce among them the principles of true religion. Glad should I be to recognise in Mr. Higgins a coadjutor in this work of benevolence.

In commencing my observations upon the work in question, I have some difficulty,—a difficulty, I mean, in determining the plan I should adopt to preserve perspicuity in the remarks I have to offer. This difficulty is occasioned by the desultory and unconnected manner in which the subjects, notwithstanding Mr.

Higgins's *two hundred and thirty-seven sections*,* follow one another. Then, there are so many interruptions in the shape of digressions, or episodes against the clergy. These episodes, which seldom have any natural connexion with the argument, are numerous, and contain the most unsubdued ebullitions of condemnation against the priesthood. "What miseries," exclaims Mr. Higgins, "have been brought upon the world by "this pernicious order of men. In all ages, and in all "nations, the priests have been the enemies of the "happiness of mankind. An established priesthood "has all the dangerous qualities of a corresponding "society."† In short, in the absence of every thing

* A SECTION in a book I conceive to be a division or part in which some point has been argued and settled; then numbered for more convenient reference. For the amusement of the reader I give the following SECTIONS as they stand numbered in the Apology. The three Surats, (sowar *arabicè*,) from the KORAN, in the parallel column, are equally remarkable for their conciseness and absurdity.

MR. HIGGINS.

135. His description of pure religion is the religion of Jesus himself. He says,—(then follows sect. 136.)

141. But fanaticism did accomplish it, and to nothing but fanaticism can it be attributed; at least without fanaticism it could not have taken place.

224. Wesley was a learned man, and a good man, but his fancied visions and revelations put his fanaticism out of all doubt.

234. I have been told by very good authority, that the son of Ibrahim, the grandchild and heir of the present Pasha of Egypt, is shortly coming to Paris for education.

MOHAMED.

108. Verily we have given thee AL CAWTHAR. Wherefore pray unto thy Lord; and slay the victims. Verily he who hateth thee shall be childless.

109. Say, O unbelievers, I will not worship that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. Neither do I worship that which ye worship; neither do ye worship that which I worship. Ye have your religion, and I my religion.

111. The hands of Abu Laheb shall perish; and he shall perish. His riches shall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained. He shall go down to be burned into flaming fire; and his wife also, bearing wood, having on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree.

† The following expressive *miso-clerical* climax, taken *verbatim* from the index to his "Celtic Druids," shows Mr. Higgins's antipathy against the sacred order.

like connected arrangement in the subjects treated upon, there exists between the two works, the Koran* and the Apology, a striking resemblance. Instead, therefore, of following Mr. Higgins in any regular order, which would be no easy matter in the limits I prescribe to myself, I shall introduce the remarks I propose making upon his work, under one or other of the following heads:—

1. A STATEMENT OF WHAT I CONCEIVE TO HAVE BEEN THE REAL CHARACTER OF MOHAMED. Upon this point I am not much at issue with Mr. Higgins.

The
Four Heads.

2. WHETHER IT BE TRUE, AS ASSERTED BY MR. HIGGINS, THAT MOHAMEDANISM AT ITS COMMENCEMENT WAS A TOLERANT SYSTEM? In maintaining the affirmative, Mr. Higgins, I think, is entirely mistaken.

"Priests, their opposition to be disregarded—endeavour to keep the people ignorant—makers of gods—assume the names of gods—their cajolery—their inconsequential logic—their opposition to philosophy—murdered by Cambyzes—deceivers of prince and people—their imprudence in chronology—control the civil power—injurious to Christianity—their institution an evil—the curse of the world—their bloody character." In this unfortunate order must be included the MUFFI, the supreme chief in the religion of Mohamed, whose power nearly resembles that of the Pope. In using language like this Mr. Higgins is addressing, I am sorry to say it, not the best dispositions of our nature: I might here use against him the complaint of the Orator, ὃ φύσει πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν ΛΟΙΔΟΡΙΩΝ καὶ τῶν ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΩΝ ἀκούειν ἡδέως. But, in the present instance, whatever be the faults of the clergy, invective so violent and indiscriminating, must defeat its own purpose.

* Koran, from the Arabic word *kur'ān*, which signifies "reading:" the article *al* being prefixed forms *al kur'ān*, or, as commonly spelled, Alcoran: that book which is the repository of Mohamedan religion and law. It was published at different times, verse by verse, as exigences required, (Mohamed giving out that he received them directly from heaven by the mouth of the angel Gabriel,) and collected into its present form by the Khalif Abū-bikr. It is held in the greatest possible reverence by every good Mussulman.—See Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary, under the word *al kur'ān*.

3. A REFUTATION OF THE POSITION URGED THROUGH THE APOLOGY, THAT CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMEDANISM ARE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME IN PRINCIPLE, THOUGH CHANGED BY TIME.

4. AN EXAMINATION INTO THE SOUNDNESS OF MR. HIGGINS'S PRETENSIONS TO THE CHARACTER OF A BIBLICAL CRITIC, AS ASSUMED IN THOSE PAGES OF HIS WORK IN WHICH HE ATTEMPTS TO PROVE THAT THE COMING OF MOHAMED WAS FORETOLD IN THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

Under one or other of these heads, taken in the order in which they lie, I shall dispose the observations which have occurred to me on the perusal of Mr. Higgins's book. In expressing my sentiments, I shall abstain from passion and ill language. In what I have to say I shall be decided, but not violent; zealous against error, without being abusive; I shall arraign misrepresentation, without imputing motives, or giving in to a spirit of bigotry. Mr. Higgins well reminds us, "bigots never reason." In this sentiment I entirely concur. Nothing, I am convinced, so prevents men from seeing their own errors as bigotry: it fills them with self-sufficient ideas, and not unfrequently hurries them into personal and uncandid reflections, all which must greatly disqualify for correct and just reasoning.

General
Observations.

Before I revert to the first head, I beg the attention of the reader to the following remarks. At the time, or a little prior to it, when Mr. Sale* published his

* Sale, one of the writers in the Universal History, author of the principal articles on oriental subjects in the GENERAL DICTIONARY, was born about 1680,

translation of the Koran, (1734,) many eminent oriental scholars, at the head of whom was Gagnier,* cultivated Arabian literature with ardour and success. The life and character of Mohamed,—his tenets and principles,—were subjected to a strict, yet candid examination. Previously, the subject had been so mixed up with fable, that though much was written upon it, little in truth was correctly known. Opinions were ascribed to the Prophet of Arabia which he never taught: though he disclaimed superhuman powers, it was affirmed that he had wrought the most preposterous miracles: learned men combated with warmth the fancies of their own imaginations, and believed they were refuting the absurdities of Islamism.† A better acquaintance with

and died in London A. D. 1736, “laissant la reputation d’un homme savant et “paradoxal.” (Biog. Univ.) His translation of the Koran is highly esteemed both in England and on the continent, though by some it is thought to exhibit Islamism in somewhat too favourable a light. It is thus described in Walchius: “Altera “(versio scilicet) est *Anglica*, quam Georgius Sale ita ordinavit, ut non solum “animadversiones ad Alcoranum explicandum illustrandumque adjecerit; verum “etiam de rebus, quæ ad historiam Alcorani ac religionis Mohammedicæ spectant “copiosè atque eruditè præfatus sit.”—*Bibliotheca Theologica*, tom. I. p. 891.

* Gagnier was second only to his predecessor, Dr. Pocock, in oriental learning. He was born at Paris about the year 1670. While yet a boy he was shown by his father Walton’s Polyglott: the sight of which made such an impression on his youthful mind, that from that moment he commenced the study of Hebrew and Arabic, in which he afterwards attained distinguished eminence. He took orders in the Roman communion, but afterwards quitted it, came over to England, and joined the reformed church. His patrons here, were Archbishop Sharp and Lord Chancellor Macclesfield: to the latter he dedicated his celebrated work so generally referred to, as elucidating the *nature and history* of Islamism: the title of which is *Abul Feda de vitâ et rebus gestis Mohamedis*: published in Arabic and Latin at Oxford, 1723. He occupied the chair for some time as the *locum tenens* of Dr. Wallis, Arabic professor in that University, to which he afterwards succeeded. He died in 1740, while publishing another of Abul Feda’s works.

† Whoever wishes to see a specimen of such misrepresentations, he need only consult the *CRIBRATIO ALCORANI*, by Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa, published in the work of Bibliander, entitled, “*Machumetis ejusque successorum Vitæ, ac Doctrina*, “*ipseque Alcoranus*, &c. His *adjunctæ sunt Confutationes multorum, et quidem*

Arabian authors discovered the mistake. Arguments, till then considered as conclusive against it, were abandoned as no longer tenable, from the mixture they were found to contain of passion and prejudice, folly and credulity. Even Prideaux himself, in his life and character of Mohamed, was discovered to have reasoned upon an erroneous hypothesis; and his work was regarded by able judges, both in England and on the continent, in the light of a failure.* Some of those, who, about the time of Sale, embarked in the investigation, on perceiving the weakness of the arguments brought against it, began to look upon Mohamedanism with a more favourable attention. Extravagant praises were heaped upon its founder, and the Koran was extolled as the standard of truth, and a model of eloquence. These commendations were not unfrequently accompanied with irrelevant insinuations against Christianity. Under the mask of zeal for Mohamedanism was concealed an indifference for revealed religion. Among those who acquired a discreditable notoriety for adopting this insidious manner of vindicating Mohamed, was Boulainvilliers,† whose misrepresentations received merited castigation from the pen of Gagnier. Boulain-

* *probatissimorum auctorum, Arabum, Græcorum, et Latinorum, unà cum Martini Lutheri præmouitione.*—Basil, 1543. In three thin folios. It is now become an extremely scarce book.

* Prideaux's work is entitled, "The true Nature of Imposture fully displayed in the Life of Mahomet, with a Discourse annexed for vindicating Christianity from this Charge, offered to the Consideration of the Deists of the present Age."—Lond. 1697. This work was soon translated into French, Dutch, and German.

† Boulainvilliers. The character of his "La Vie de Mahomet," published at London in 1730, will be seen from the following notice of it by Walchius: "Constat illud (opus scilicet) tribus libris, quorum duorum priorum Boulainvilliers auctor est: tertium autem eumque brevem ignotus scriptor addidit. Compositum id fuit tam nefario impioque consilio ut religio Mohammedana contra Christianos defenderetur."—Tom. III. 822. It was a posthumous work, as its author died in

villiers, I observe, is quoted in the Apology, and Mr. Higgins, I regret to say, has followed in the steps of the French Count with an intrepid consistency.

The first head,—a statement of what I conceive to have been the real character of Mohamed,—shall be introduced by an extract, which, besides its being a fair specimen of Mr. Higgins's style, will enable the reader to form a judgment of his views upon that controverted point.

First Head.
Mohamed an
Enthusiast.

“In estimating the character of Mohamed, we have no more right to assume that he was a most consummate rogue, hypocrite, liar, and villain, totally destitute of all principle, than we have to assume that he was a Socrates. And when I hear him accused of being the former, I immediately have recourse to the general character and conduct which both parties agree he maintained in the early and middle part of his life. I find this to have been irreproachable.” [*Mohamed himself admits that, to his fortieth year, he was an idolater, and had lived wickedly. In Surat 47. he says, “ask pardon for thy sin.” Again, Surat 48. we have, “that God may forgive thee thy preceding and subsequent sin.” Here and elsewhere, remarks Mr. Sale, Mohamed acknowledges himself a sinner.*] “Then am I to believe at once that this was mere hypocrisy? Fourteen or fifteen years together, I am told to believe, that he carried this farce on—from twenty-five years old to forty. That until he was twenty-five years of age his life was that of meritorious industry: his integrity unsuspected. That at that time great affluence became his lot as the reward of his honesty and industry; and that this good fortune at once

1722. A rather interesting life is given of him in the *Biographie Universelle*. He is there said, on no sufficient authority I suspect, to have died penitent,—“dans des sentiments de piété.”

"converted this honourable and upright man into a most
 "determined villain. And what was the object which he
 "proposed to himself by this extraordinary conduct? The
 "indulgence of two passions, we are told, was his object :
 "the enjoyment of women, and the gratification of the most
 "stupendous ambition, the ambition of a merchant (not a
 "soldier) of a trading city, to make himself the emperor of
 "the world; and that as a preparative he served a noviciate
 "of fourteen years of seclusion and irreproachable conduct,
 "which irreproachable conduct, we must recollect, in his
 "case, on account of its hypocrisy, was abandoned profligacy.
 "Have we in the history of the world any thing similar to
 "this? The gratification of the second object of his desires,
 "the enjoyment of women, is attended with a very singular
 "circumstance. He married Cadigha," *[who had had two*
husbands before,] "who was fifteen years older than himself,
 "when he was only twenty-five years of age, the very time
 "of life when youthful passion may be supposed to be at its
 "height; and though, by the laws of his country, he was
 "entitled to have a plurality of wives, he neglected to avail
 "himself of this permission, and continued faithful to her as
 "long as she lived—twenty-two years, having by her a large
 "family. The friends of this *profligate impostor*, I fear, will
 "be so blind as to see nothing in this but gratitude to his
 "kindest friend, the maker of his fortune, unless they should
 "believe that a young man, possessing every personal accom-
 "plishment, could have an affection for a woman of forty.
 "His enemies, no doubt, would say that he was devoid of
 "passion, notwithstanding his numerous family, if it were
 "not well known that almost immediately after his wife's
 "death he married three or four very beautiful young women.
 "This, his enemies say, was done to strengthen his party. It
 "seems rather singular that he did not think of this before
 "the twelfth year of his mission, when Cadigha was dead."*

* Apology, p. 25.

I accede to Mr. Higgins's opinion, as here expressed, and more fully in other places, that Mohamed was not, in the proper meaning of the word, an impostor. The persuasion of his having been such, however general it may be, rests, I am convinced, upon no valid foundation. He was, as Mr. Higgins represents him, an enthusiast; and had Mr. Higgins attempted to establish his proof upon a philosophical analysis of Mohamed's character, he might have added something toward clearing up a point of acknowledged difficulty. His readers are in nowise benefited by being told of what Mr. Higgins could easily communicate* respecting that period of Mohamed's life the least known, yet the most important for furnishing data from which to establish the motives that guided his conduct. For my part, I want no additional information. His habits and disposition generally, as detailed on all hands, afford to me the most convincing indications of a mind deeply imbued with enthusiasm. Casaubon somewhere remarks, "the Arabians of all people are most inclined to enthusiasm:" and their Prophet inherited a more than ordinary portion of this fanatical principle. Hence his love of solitude, and his frequent abstraction of himself from his companions for religious meditation. His sequestered habits, and their probable effects upon his sanguine temperament, are touched upon in section 187, in Mr. Higgins's best manner. It should seem, that while occupied in "complicated mercantile concerns,"† his ruling passion was prevented from issuing in any remarkable extravagances. But as soon as he was raised to affluence by his marriage with Cadigha, and enabled to retire

* See sect 16. † Apology, p. 7.

from business,—from that moment he followed the impulse of his feelings: he resigned himself up to dreams and visions, and, in the excesses of devout contemplation, imagined he was visited by angels, and conversed with heaven. His mind was strongly impressed with the reality of an intercourse with the world of spirits. It was under the influence of this persuasion that he commenced preacher and reformer. He had witnessed the abominable superstition which degraded his country, and was so affected with the view, that, as Mosheim candidly owns, “it is highly probable it threw him into a certain fanatical disorder of mind, and made him really imagine he was supernaturally commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabians, and restore among them the worship of one God.”* To his qualifications for his new office ample testimony is borne by Arabian authors: they represent him to have been eloquent in a high degree: and that their testimony may be credited, I infer from such men as Erpenius and Spanheim† being convinced of its truth. I give the attestation of Spanheim, as quoted from Sale by Mr. Higgins, who, I just note, by mistake refers to the *preface*: the passage occurs in the address to the reader,

“Spanheim,” says Mr. Higgins, “was a very celebrated man, and no man I apprehend will doubt his piety and learning, justly applauded by Mr. Sale, who says, though he

* Eccles. Hist. vol. II. p. 160, 8vo. edit.

† Spanheim, *Frederic*, the writer on church history, younger brother of the very learned *Ezekiel* Spanheim. The passage here quoted occurs in his “*Ecclesiastica Historia*,” sæc. vii. cap. 7. The edition of this work esteemed the most complete is that of 1694, 4to.—Of Erpenius it is enough to say, that he was the master of the “profound and elegant” *GOLIUS*.

“owned Mohamed to be a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, shewing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of God; severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, &c.; a great preacher of charity, patience, mercy, beneficence, gratitude; honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praise.”*

Now is it, I may ask, an improbable circumstance, that an enthusiast, possessed of these endowments, should persuade himself of his having been sent into the world for some extraordinary purpose? A nobler could not present itself to the imagination of Mohamed than the one of delivering his country from a debasing superstition, and re-establishing among the descendants of Ishmael the worship of one God, as opposed to polytheism? “*Quod volumus, facile credimus.*” For nearly four years, though resisted by the civil authorities, and exposed to every insult, he preached with intense earnestness what he believed was revealed to him from heaven. What he taught he believed to be true; and this distinguishes him from an impostor. An impostor, in whatever he says, is insincere; the maxim that guides him is—

Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.

The character of Mohamed was directly the reverse;—it was, in all its parts, that of the strait-forward, bold, convinced enthusiast.

* Apology, p. 46.

How strongly Mohamed himself was persuaded, that the doctrines he taught proceeded from divine suggestion, the following passages, among others, from the Koran may serve to show. In surat 46—

“When our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, the
 “unbelievers say of the truth when it cometh unto them,
 “this is a manifest piece of sorcery. Will they say Mohamed
 “has forged it? Answer, if I have forged it, verily ye shall
 “not obtain for me any favour from God: he well knoweth
 “the injurious language which ye utter concerning it: he is
 “a sufficient witness between me and you, and he is gracious
 “and merciful. Say I am not singular among the apostles:
 “neither do I know what will be done with me, or with you
 “hereafter. I follow no other than what is revealed unto me,
 “neither am I any more than a public warner.”

Again, in surat 53—

“Your companion Mohamed erreth not: nor is he led
 “astray; neither doth he speak of his own will. It is no
 “other than a revelation, which has been revealed to him.
 “The heart of Mohamed did not falsely represent what he
 “saw. Will ye therefore dispute with him concerning what
 “he saw?”

These passages bear the stamp of sincerity. The man, we are to recollect, from whose mouth they proceeded, speaks every where of the Deity with awe and reverence. It follows as a fair conclusion, that Mohamed himself believed, that the communications, which he declared were made to him, partook of a divine character.

Enthusiasts, it is known, have, in all ages, undervalued human learning. So did Mohamed. Acquired

learning he had none. He is said to have issued an edict which made the study of the liberal sciences a capital offence. It is in reference to his deficiency in learning that he is styled in the Koran **THE ILLITERATE PROPHET**. Mr. Higgins seems to doubt whether the ignorance of Mohamed was so great as is commonly represented.* The account rests, however, not only on the concurrent testimony of the Moslem doctors, but has been admitted, I believe, by every writer of note who has investigated his history. And it is too much to be required to give it up now, upon the mere dictum of any individual however respectable. Enthusiasts have a shorter road to knowledge than common men. Besides, it is only on the ground of his deficiency in literary attainments, that we can account for the confusion and inequality observable in the subject-matter of the Koran.† We have in the same page truth and fable,—the finest conceptions of the *Deity*, and tales of *Genii* and the *Horse Borak*. Nor is the “philosophical theology” of the Koran quite uncontaminated, I suspect,

* Apology, p. 95.

† There is nothing in the subject-matter of the Koran of a nature to exceed the capacity even of ordinary readers; yet from the confused and disconnected manner in which it is written, the Koran in truth is a difficult and obscure book, as is admitted by the Arabian literati themselves. This defect is so well touched upon by Reineccius in the following passage, that I cannot forbear giving it in his own words:—“Licet enim,” writes he, “res in Alcorano contentæ ultra hominis carnalis captum viresque naturales idiotæ sagacis non assurgant, aded tamen informi ratione modoque, et ordine perturbato congesta pleraque sunt et trajecta, et Meccana Medinensibus immixta, et anteriora cum posterioribus confusa, ut sæpius quid velit, nec fortè sciverit ipse impostor, nec divinare potuerint post eum collectores Alcorani et expositores. Aded, ut Algazelus celebris inter Muhammedanos interpres ipse fassus sit, apud Salamas, non se ab aliis Alcorani difficiliorum locorum explicationem habere potuisse, quàm a comparentibus sibi genis et dæmonibus. Ad quæ meritò exclamat Abraham Ecchellensis in Histor. Arab. cap. 23, p. 271, O LEX ALCORANICA, TALIBUS DISCIPULIS DIGNA ET MAGISTRIS!”—Historia Alcorani, p. 12.

with the remains of Arabian idolatry. The "black stone" at Mecca, to which devout Mussulmans pay so much homage, is believed by many to be nothing else than an ancient statue of Venus. We are assured, that upon a near inspection of it, the outlines of a head or countenance are discernible.* On the same ground only, on the score of ignorance, can that perversion and confusion of scripture history so frequently met with in the Koran be accounted for. The impression on my mind is, that Mohamed never read, perhaps never saw, the books of the Old and New Testament. The information he had of their contents was received, I believe, from less pure sources.

I have represented Mohamed as by nature an enthusiast. In regard to his moral character, down to the time of his flight from Mecca, the era of the Hegira, I see no reason for differing from Mr. Higgins, in believing "it was correct in a high degree."† Afterwards,

* The history of this "black stone" is, I suspect, curious; and of importance enough to have claimed from Mr. Higgins, who has written so largely about the Celtic *rudera*, particular investigation. Calvoerius, (*De Variis Orbis Religionibus*, p. 1101,) intimates, that it was from a political motive that Mohamed, when effecting the extirpation of Arabian idolatry, left this relic of the ancient worship,—this "*GRANDE ET PRISCUM IDOLUM*," as he at once names it. It is in form quadrangular,—and called by the Greek writers *βράχμα*, from an Arabic word signifying *blessing*. It is highly venerated by all pious Mussulmans: never according to them did the Mohamedan church suffer so great a calamity, as when the safety of this precious antique was in danger by the predatory violence of Ghabanæus, as mentioned by their own authors.—Some writers suppose this stone to have been an image of Alilat, the Venus Urania of the Arabians,—called in their language Halilah, denoting, according to Scaliger, the "*luna menses et crescens*." Hence probably the use of the *crescent*, the celebrated Mohamedan symbol. The reader will find some curious particulars respecting this remnant of Eastern idolatry in Selden, tom. II. 369—70. It seems, from a passage in Pausanias, that Venus Urania was anciently represented by the Athenians under the shape of a square stone, "*effigie quadratâ*."

† Apology, p. 16.

even Mr. Higgins himself dares not speak so decisively on that point. And well may he demur; since it is quite evident, that *from that period* the motives of his conduct became less pure, and the means used to accomplish his purposes most exceptionable. The possession of power, which soon followed his appeal to arms, corrupted his principles, as it subsequently did those of our Cromwell, who in several traits of character nearly resembled the Arabian. Both found themselves at the head of armies, composed of military preachers; both regarded *their* enemies as alike the enemies of God. But the Englishman was moral: Mohamed was dissolute. For the profligacy of his latter years no apology can be made,—not even on the principle, that the spiritual excitements of enthusiasts and fanatics are often nearly allied to those that are carnal. Mohamed's conduct in the affair of Zeinah, the repudiated wife of Zeid, was infamous: nothing in his whole life gave such umbrage to his followers, as his marriage with this woman. Mr. Higgins, like a wary advocate determined to make the best of his cause, has passed over the affair in silence. It stands, however, *as he knows*, recorded in the pages of the Koran. My readers will find it in Surat 33, accompanied with notes, by way of explanation, from Sale.*

* The story is as follows. "Some years after his marriage, Mohamed going to Zeid's house on some affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally cast his eyes on Zeinah, who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight, that he could not help crying out, 'God be praised, who turneth the heart of man as he pleaseth!' This Zeinah acquainted her husband with, on his return home: whereupon Zeid after mature reflection, thought he could not do less than part with his wife in favour of his benefactor, and therefore resolved to divorce her, and acquainted Mohamed with his resolution; but he, apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it, and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him; but at length, his love for her being authorised by this revelation, (referring to the

Locke misrepresented by Mr. Higgins.

I go then with Mr. Higgins, in regarding Mohamed as an enthusiast; but on coming to inferences, my opinions then are as wide from his as can well be conceived. He sees nothing in Mohamed, the enthusiast, but the elements of truth and moral wisdom;— I on the contrary see nothing but the extravagances of error and delusion. I think an enthusiast in Arabia is entitled to no more respect or confidence than an enthusiast in England. I wish Mr. Higgins would carefully peruse Mr. Locke's chapter on Enthusiasm; and when he has done so, and well digested it, then let him come forward, if his conscience will permit, and gravely tell us, that an enthusiast CAN BE AN AUTHORITY either in religion or in legislation. I am reminded by the name of this great metaphysician, of a kind of axiom, which Mr. Higgins repeats more than once in the Apology, that "*Faith is matter of necessity, not of choice.*" This proposition is given to Locke; he is said to have proved it, but for some reason Mr. Higgins has not sustained his assertion by reference to any part of that great man's writings. To his reader is left the task of examining for himself: and every reader who has any anxiety for Locke's reputation will examine, and not concede the sanction of his authority to such an unphilosophical opinion on any other evidence, than that of cogent proof from his own pages. Under this feeling I have searched in vain for the chapter, or section, in which he undertakes to prove, as Mr. Higgins avers he has proved, that "*Faith is matter of necessity, not of choice.*" I may

"text,) he acquiesced, and after the term of her divorce was expired, married her
"in the latter end of the fifth year of the Hegira.—What particularly augmented
"the scandal of this connexion was, that Zeid was the *adopted son* of Mohamed,
"and consequently his wife came within the prohibited degrees of marriage."

have overlooked it; but my present conviction is, that no such passage is to be found: and I am strengthened in the conviction, because such doctrine, as appears to me, is counter to all Mr. Locke's principles. *Faith* he describes as an assent to revelation, founded on the highest reason. The use and application of our rational faculties,—the keeping our minds open to evidence,—are so identified indeed with Locke's conception of faith, as to render it any thing else than matter of necessity, in which the will has nothing to do. Necessity in its nature excludes all operation of the will. The fullest assent is indeed to be given to divine revelation;—but then it belongs to reason to judge of the truth of its being a revelation. Our understanding is to be employed in discovering truth, and the will to enable us to obey it: of both these faculties we are to make the best use; and on our doing so, we have the assured promise of God's illuminating spirit to direct us in our inquiries. This view of faith exactly harmonizes with the definition given of it by Theodoret: πίστις, he says, is ἐκούσιον τῆς ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσις, i. e. a voluntary assenting of the mind;—or, with that of Clemens Alexandrinus: Πίστις ἐκὸν καὶ ἐκείνου ἐστὶν, Θεοσεβείας συγκατάθεσις, i. e. faith is a spontaneous assumption, it is a free assent of the mind to the worship of God.* Faith, then, according to these early authorities of the church, is so far from being *matter of necessity*, and *not of choice*, that it is rather, as Dr. Barrow well expresses it, “an effect of persuasion, and “persuasion is nothing else but the application of some “reason to the mind, apt to draw forth its assent.”†

* Suiceri Thes. Eccl.; πίστις.

† Dr. Isaac Barrow's Sermon on the Virtue and Reasonableness of Faith, vol. II. p. 23. I recommend to Mr. Higgins, at his leisure, carefully to peruse this Sermon, —the second part of it particularly.

The rise of
Mohamedanism
contingent, ac-
cording to Mr.
Higgins.

Mohamedanism, as Mr. Higgins justly observes, "was the child not of preconcerted design, but of accident and circumstance,"—the effect, as he elsewhere terms it, of "unforeseen circumstances."* In other words, the system itself was not devised by Mohamed with the view of acquiring that sovereignty to which it afterwards led. The manner, in which the efforts he made to reform the religion of his country were received for the first thirteen years, was not of a kind to warrant any sanguine calculations of success. It is true, his preaching had produced an effect upon the popular mind: and the law passed in the eighth year of his mission, forbidding any person to join his cause, is evidence that the authorities began to dread the influence he was obtaining; but still his converts in Mecca, though respectable, were far from numerous; and his uncle, the rich Abu Taleb, "one of the chief men of the government,"† died, it seems, an unbeliever. Judging, indeed, from the opposition Mohamed had to contend with in making himself master of that city, which had so long been the scene of his zealous labours, it seems more than probable, had he not fled when he did, at the critical moment when "Mecca had grown too hot for him,"‡ that the world would never have heard of either him or his undertaking. For my part, I assure Mr. Higgins I have no wish, in any "canting style," to approve the conduct of the people of Mecca. Considering that gentle means had hitherto been employed to promulgate his doctrines, I think the treatment their Prophet received was harsh and cruel: at the same time, I regard the moderation

* Apology, p. 87 and 104. † Apology, p. 11. ‡ Apology, p. 14.

which he displayed on the occasion, as proceeding from the conviction that it was prudent to yield, rather than attempt resistance. Be this as it may, the reception which Mohamed experienced at Medina,* where he had many attached friends, was in all respects favourable: proselytes to his views came in daily; and he soon commanded resources, that rendered him a formidable neighbour. He had long brooded in contemplative obscurity over the visions of his own fancy, but now a field of action opened before him. In his new power,

* It was this movement of the Prophet, his *flight* from Mecca, or as a good Mussulman would call it, his *departure by divine impulse*, "*migratio et abitus a cognatis et amicis*," (*Calvoerius*) which gave rise to the celebrated epoch, used by his followers in all chronological computations. From the Arabic word *hegg'ra*, or as commonly written *hegira*, denoting *flight in general*, it received its name. This event, so memorable in Arabian annals, happened according to common opinion on the sixteenth day of July, in the year 622 of our Saviour, but according to Elmacinus, a good authority, in 624. From it commences the date of the Saracen empire. The Mohamedans reckon time by lunar years, as did the old Arabians. Like the Jews, they begin their day at evening; and the reason Hyde gives in these words from a Persian author: "Mohamedani, et omnes alii, qui menses a phasibus lunaribus inchoant, diem civilem ab occasu solis inchoant; quia donec sol occubuerit luna videri non potest; adeo ut nox diei præmittatur."—*De Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 211. Yatreb, the place to which Mohamed escaped, and which he made his future residence, obtained many privileges in return for the protection it afforded: its name was presently changed for the more imposing designation of MEDINATO 'LNABI, or City of the Prophet, called afterwards, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, simply Medina. He is supposed to have made his entry into Medina on a Friday. Hence that day is held in special veneration by the Moslems; and is the day set apart in the Koran for the weekly celebration of public worship. "O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of the assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandise. This will be better for you, if ye knew it. And when prayer is ended then disperse yourselves through the land as ye list, and seek gain of the liberality of God: and remember God frequently, that ye may prosper. But when they see any merchandising, or sport, they flock thereto, and leave thee standing up in thy pulpit, say, the reward which is with God is better than any sport or merchandise: and God is the best provider." Surat 62. In relation to this its purpose, Friday is named by the Arabians *Yawm al jomâ*, the day of the assembly or congregation. See Sale on the above passage. Notwithstanding the account of Mohamedan writers, Scaliger was of opinion, that the

he saw only the leadings of Providence, authorising him to compel where he had failed to persuade, and extirpate idolatry by less peaceful measures than he had hitherto adopted. To *reason* force was added, and the foundation laid of that empire, which extended itself over so large a portion of the eastern and western world.

the Christians
the Jews of
Medina vindicated
from the charge of apos-
tasy brought against
them by Mr. Higgins.

I remark, that it is a point of solicitude with Mr. Higgins to have it believed, that no small number of Mohamed's first supporters at Medina were Christians. He observes,* "Dr. Prideaux informs us, that the adherents of Mohamed at Medina were chiefly among
"the Christians, and that he was received by them
"with great acclamation: all this for the reason he
"(Dr. P.) gives, *seems very probable.*" Again,—"
"the different sects of Christian religionists, *I think,*"
says Mr. Higgins, "we may look for the recruits to the

observance of Friday as a religious festival was a practice that obtained in Arabia long anterior to Mohamed; and that he only converted an existing institution to serve his purpose. Selden seems once to have had the same opinion. Scaliger's words as given in Selden are,—"*Quod Mucharum Hegiræ cœpit a feriâ sextâ, ideò eam diem sacram Mahumedanis dicunt ab eo tempore. Ego scio antiquiorem superstitionem esse propter Venerem, quam Chobar vocabant, et summâ superstitione antiquitus venerabatur. Cæterum feria sexta illis dicitur Giûma, hoc est, σάββατος, ἐκκλησία, ὁμλία; quæ eâ reverentiâ illis est, quâ Judæis sabbatum, Christianis dies solis.*" Tom. I. p. 404. Selden afterwards altered his opinion, and was for deducing the Mohamedan custom of observing Friday as the day of public worship, from the *Parasceve* of the early Christian church, founded upon Luke v. 34, 35. and alluded to in the sixty-ninth of the Apostolical Constitutions. But I give his words, and refer the curious reader for further information to his learned work. "Et quod ad originem festi, quatenus a Mahumedanis retinetur, attinet; cum partim e Christianis, partim e Judaicis ritibus conflatum esse Mahumedismum certum sit, an non constitutioni Constantinianæ illi, quâ tam dies Veneris, seu feria quod prosabbatum est, quàm solis dies, seu dominicus, festus habendus erat, ea debeat? In Christianismo quidem diu est quòd evanuit constitutio illa. Sed fortè INDE DIEM ILLUM in colluviem suam recipi voluit Mahumedes." Id. p. 406.

* Apology, sect. 27.

“armies of the Prophet, and in the circumstance that “they would not be serving like mere soldiers of fortune “for pay, but men actually engaged by principle in his “cause, we shall not look in vain for the reason of “the enthusiasm by which they were actuated.”* The testimony of Prideaux, on other points contemptuously set aside, is here represented as *very probable*, when it serves to fasten on the Christians the imputation of apostacy. I wish to consider Mr. Higgins as a gentleman guided in his inquiries solely by the love of truth. If I be correct in this sentiment, he will not be angry at me for challenging him to produce one tittle of credible evidence in support of such an imputation. This charge against the Christians of Medina, with whatever confidence put forward, and by whomsoever urged, rests I am persuaded on no better grounds than unsupported conjecture. I am not afraid of appealing to the decision of the historical inquirer. The only evidence available on this subject and entitled to attention, goes, as I believe, to establish the directly opposite conclusion to that which Mr. Higgins would have us to come to,—namely, that the persons who first sent in their adhesion to Mohamed, were not Christians, but Arabians, who had been idolaters, yet who with the Prophet had renounced the superstitions of their country. The preaching of Mohamed hitherto, as is apparent from many passages in the Koran, had been directed chiefly against the prevailing idolatry: and it is to those of his countrymen, who had been induced by him to quit polytheism, that *we* must “look for the recruits to the “armies of the Prophet.” I ask Mr. Higgins of what religious persuasion originally were those whom Mo-

* Apology, sect. 198.

hamed dignified with the name of **ANSARS**,* or helpers? Were they not *Arabian idolaters*, before they confederated with their new leader? So Picart from Gagnier, —“In the following year (the eleventh of his mission) “the Chasregites, who were pure Arabians, embraced “the religion of Mohamed: he gave them the name “of ansarians or auxiliaries, because they powerfully “helped him to settle his doctrines.”† As I am anxious to remove the stigma attempted to be affixed upon the Christians at Medina, I here give the very words of Gagnier, which may be more satisfactory to Mr. Higgins than the second-hand testimony of Picart. “Atque hinc vir doctus (Prideaux is the person alluded “to) deplorandum illorum temporum ecclesiæ orientalis “statum patheticis verbis lamentatur, quod tam facilè “Christiani, desertâ fide, Islamismi imposturæ nomen “dederint. Verùm enim ex merâ conjecturâ (quod “pace summi viri et tantoperè de ecclesiâ meriti dix- “erim) boni illi Christiani Arabes tantæ apostasiæ “criminis non erant tam facilè accusandi, cùm isti “**MEDINENSES**, primi Mohammedis asseclæ in illâ “urbe, neque **CHRISTIANI** neque enim **JUDÆI** fuerint, “sed **ARABES PURI**, uti vocabantur, iique **IDOLOLA- “TRÆ** e Chazregiitarum tribu oriundi.”‡ I will only add, in further refutation of the charge under consideration, that, according to the accounts found even in Mohamedan writers, it is evident, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Arabian Christians generally continued

* Ansars, so called from the Arabic “*ansar*,” plural of *nasr*, meaning aids, assistants, defenders, confederates: it is particularly applied to the citizens of Medina, who assisted Mohamed, when obliged to fly from Mecca.—Richardson’s Arabic Dictionary.

† Religious Ceremonies, vol. VII. p. 17.

‡ In Annot. ad Abul-fedæ vit. Mohammedis, cap. 17, p. 30.

steadfast in their profession, and submitted to pay the *harach*, or capitation-tax, rather than apostatize from their religion.

Mr. Higgins is a great assertor of the *tolerant spirit* of Mohamedanism, as displayed in the character of its founder and his successors. Upon this point I am altogether at issue with him. As I wish, however, Mr. Higgins, in respect to his opinions, always to speak for himself, I quote at length the following Sections, from which the reader will see what his sentiments are upon my second head.

Second Head.

Mohamedanism
intolerant, con-
trary to the view
given of it by
Mr. Higgins.

“199. To the reasons which the reader has seen for the rapid
“propagation and success of Mohamedism, may be added the
“total abstinence in its followers of persecution, at least as
“far as concerned Jews and Christians. As the Rev. Mr.
“Robinson has said, ‘Jews and Christians all lived happily
“among them.’ This will surprise Christians at this day
“very much, but it is nevertheless true. The enlightened
“subjects of the caliphs persecuted none; and had their
“empire continued, instead of having been overthrown by
“the Turks, then in a state of barbarism, and had extended
“to European Greece, I have no doubt that the same effect
“would have been produced as that which was produced in
“Persia, Arabia, and most parts of Asia and Africa. Scarcely
“a Christian would have been left at this day. Mere bar-
“barism may be thought insufficient to account for the ex-
“cessive hatred of the modern Turks to the Christians. I
“have no doubt that their bigotry and their hatred of the
“Christians were in a great measure caused by the bigotry and
“hatred of the Christians towards them—by the Crusades, the
“expulsion of all the Moriscoes of Spain whom the Christians
“were unable to murder, and by the perpetual piracies of the
“pious knights of Malta. What would the Christians have
“said if the Turks had expelled all the inhabitants of Greece

“when they took Constantinople, as the Christians expelled
 “the Moriscoes from Spain, instead of leaving them in pos-
 “session of their lands, houses, patriarchs, bishops, priests,
 “churches, and monasteries? To these causes, joined to ex-
 “cessive ignorance, may be attributed the difference between
 “the Turks and their precursors, the Saracens; and to the
 “persecuting spirit generated by these causes may be attri-
 “buted the fact of the existence of a single Christian in
 “Greece. It is this spirit of intolerance which is increasing
 “the members of the Roman church in Ireland, and has
 “prevented the propagation of Mohamedism in Greece.”

“200. The tolerant spirit of the caliphs appears to be
 “strictly accordant with that of Mohamed, as may be seen in
 “the following passage, in which enough escapes to shew to an
 “impartial person the true character of the prophet: coming
 “from Mr. Sale, it is the admission of an unwilling witness:—
 “‘Hitherto, Mahomet had propagated his religion by fair
 “means, so that the whole success of his enterprise, before
 “his flight to Medina, must be attributed to persuasion only,
 “and not to compulsion. For, before this second oath of
 “fealty or inauguration at Al Akaba,* he had no permission
 “to use any force at all; and in several places of the Koran,
 “which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca,
 “he declares his business was only to preach and admonish;
 “that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace
 “his religion; and that whether people believed or not, was
 “not his concern, but belonged only to God. And he was so
 “far from allowing his followers to use force, that he ex-
 “horted them to bear patiently those injuries which were
 “offered them on account of their faith; and, when perse-
 “cuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth,
 “and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance.’”†

* “This alludes to an oath which, it is said, he exacted from a deputation of
 “proselytes from Medina, that they should be faithful to him and protect him from
 “his enemies.”—Sale, Pref. p. 63.

† Apology, p. 90 and 91.

I pass over Mr. Higgins's attempt at vaticination. He, it seems, is of opinion, that, if the Saracen empire had not been overturned by the Turks, "scarcely a Christian would have been left at this day." I only notice this self-complacent remark for the purpose of referring Mr. Higgins to a passage that occurs in an old book,—an authority with me: the passage is this:—Κἀγὼ δὲ σοὶ λέγω ὅτι σὺ εἰ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ πύλαι ᾧδου οὐ κατασχύσουσιν αὐτήν. But I do request the *particular attention* of the reader to what follows. Mr. Sale, it will be observed, is brought forward as a witness—an *unwilling* witness (which, in Mr. Higgins's view, increases the value of his testimony) to the *tolerant spirit* of Mohamed and his successors, the Caliphs. In proof of this, the quotation above given, taken from the learned translator's preliminary discourse, (not *preface*,) is laid before the reader. On turning, however, to Sale, I find, that Mr. Higgins has quoted only the *former part* of the paragraph, where the passage occurs: I give the remainder. From the clause—"and when persecuted"—"himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth, "and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance,"—the paragraph continues: "but this great passiveness "and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of "power, and the great superiority of his opposers for "the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner "was he enabled, by the assistance of those in Medina, "to make head against his enemies, than he gave out, "that God had allowed him and his followers to defend "themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his "forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave "even to attack them, and to destroy idolatry, and to

"set up the true faith by the sword; finding by experience that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown; and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel seldom run any risk. * * * * The first passage of the Koran which gave Mohamed the permission of defending himself by arms, is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed."* Now, if words have any signification, Mr. Sale is a witness, whether willing or unwilling I care not, to the contrary of that, which by Mr. Higgins he is made to avouch. Nobody knows better than Mr. Higgins how necessary it is, to come at the correct understanding of written testimony, to take the collective sense of the whole, and not that of detached passages only. And had Mr. Higgins attended to this maxim, he could not have fallen into so grave a mistatement of Sale's meaning, as I conceive in the present instance he has certainly done. Assuredly the paragraph, *taken as a whole*, represents the translator of the Koran in a very different light from that of a witness to the *tolerant* principles of Mohamed.

Enthusiasm in its nature is exclusive and overbearing, impatient of restraint, and, in the means it uses to accomplish its purposes, stern and severe. It easily mixes with the unsocial passions of our nature, with pride, ostentation, and resentment; its zeal is often another name for persecution, and the concern it expresses for the honour of God is frequently nothing else than the

* Sale's Koran, Prel. Disc. 4to. edit. p. 49.

desire of human applause,—of temporal power and aggrandizement. Traces of these, its characteristic elements, abound in the Koran. I give the following as specimens of the violent precepts contained in that book; others breathing a like spirit are numerous.—

“O, true believers, take your necessary precaution
 “against your enemies, and either go forth to war in
 “separate parties, or go forth altogether in a body.
 “* * * Let them therefore fight for the religion of
 “God, who part with the present life in exchange
 “for that which is to come; for whosoever fighteth for
 “the religion of God, whether he be slain or be victo-
 “torious, we will surely give him a great reward.”*

Again,—“Fight against those who believe not in God,
 “nor in the last day, and forbid not that which God
 “and his apostle have forbidden, and profess not the
 “true religion of those unto whom the scriptures have
 “been delivered, *until they pay tribute by right of sub-
 “jection, and they be reduced very low.*”† We recognise
 in these precepts the ferocious spirit of Mohamedanism.
 The alternative it offered to the conquered, if Pagan
 idolaters, was *Islamism or death*; if Jews or Christians,
 for they were more mercifully dealt with, *conversion or
 tribute*. In the accounts of the wars of Mohamed, we
 have mention made of missions and negociations, but
 the grand instrument of conversion was the SWORD.
 The first caliphs, with the armies they commanded,
 were actuated by military fanaticism,—they were little
 removed from barbarians,—and, in the plenitude of
 their despotism, were strangers to every liberal and
 tolerant principle. The objects that most engrossed

* Surat 4. † Surat 9.

their attention were, in Mr. Higgins's words, "glory, plunder, women, and above all, success."* Yet does Mr. Higgins assert, "one cause of the rapid propagation and success of Mohamedanism, was the total absence in its followers of persecution, at least as far as concerned Jews and Christians. As the Rev. Mr. Robinson has said, 'Jews and Christians all lived happily among them,'"[†]—Mr. Higgins is so pleased with this scrap of testimony from Mr. Robinson, that we have it before in nearly the same words at the fifty-first page. This author's opinions are not oracular with me. With the late Cambridge Professor, Dr. Hey, I entertain "a poor opinion of Mr. Robinson's reasoning powers,—and agree that none, even allowing him to be a man of good abilities, can read his great work, the History of Baptism, if a love of *truth* be uppermost in their minds, without disgust and abhorrence." Mr. Robinson's authority, therefore, goes only a very little way.

* Apology, p. 71.

† Should any one discover in himself a secret *penchant* to put faith in the statements found in a certain class of writers, (I must include Mr. Higgins in this class,) about the clemency and liberal toleration of the first Mohamedan conquerors, I would by all means advise him to read over OCKLEY's admirable account of the expeditions into SYRIA, undertaken during the caliphates of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman: and, if his case be not desperate, he will be cured of so morbid a predilection. The men who conducted those expeditions, must have acted upon the *humane* maxim, common in the mouth of a later vizier, that "compassion was but natural weakness." Then, in respect to their tolerating spirit in matters of religion, we may gather of what kind it was from the following characteristic anecdote. On the eve of one of those dreadful engagements, which preceded the fall of Damascus,—“A venerable old man belonging to the Christian army had a conference with Khälid, wherein he endeavoured to dissuade the Moslem general from engaging the imperial forces, and consequently to prevent the effusion of blood; but without effect. The Arab was determined, unless the Christians would renounce their faith, or submit to pay an annual tribute, to leave the decision of the present dispute between the Khalif and the Roman emperor entirely to the sword.”—Univ. Hist. vol. I. p. 210.

But to return. To wipe away the stain of intolerance from the first Caliphs, Mr. Higgins gravely tells us, wherever they conquered, "*if the inhabitants turned Mohamedans*, they were instantly on a footing of "equality with their conquerors, were not put to the "sword, as the Christians" [with 'wonderful assurance and hypocrisy' I suppose] "have represented, but after "the conquest was terminated," [i. e. after thousands had been barbarously slaughtered while defending the lands and possessions of their forefathers,] "they were "left in the peaceable possession of their properties and "religion," [not if idolaters, then their temples and religion were destroyed,] "paying a tax for the enjoyment of this latter privilege, so trifling as to be an "oppression to none."* I confess I read this passage with astonishment—"A tax so trifling as to be an oppression to none!" and this from a gentleman, who advocated the other day the removal of penal laws from our Catholic fellow-subjects! I care little whether the tax imposed was light or oppressive: I object to the principle of it. No man living has a right to compel others to be of his religion, or to mulct them for refusing to embrace it. I am sorry that Mr. Higgins, whom I always looked upon as the friend of civil and religious liberty, should, for the sake of glossing over Mohamedan intolerance, be the apologist for pains and penalties, and dignify the tyrants who imposed them with the name of "liberal and enlightened characters!!" I thought, that the essence of toleration had consisted in men's being allowed to enjoy their religious opinions and worship without molestation, according to the

* Apology, p. 51, 52.

dictates of their judgment and conscience. Had Mr. Higgins himself to pay an annual tax for his opinions,—the amount to be assessed by an authority that was above the law,—I suspect that we should soon hear him exclaiming, what hardship—what intolerable oppression—that he should be taxed in his property, merely on account of some peculiarities in his religious notions! But, says Mr. Higgins, the tribute imposed by the conquering Mussulman was *so trifling* as to be no oppression. We have the authority of Jurieu for the contrary assertion,—that the Christians were made to pay *very dear* for their liberty of conscience,—that it was a custom with their Mohamedan masters to sell their churches to the Jews, and then compel them to re-purchase them for exorbitant sums.

Instances of executions under Mohamedan authorities on the pretext of religion can easily be produced. The case of the learned and accomplished Al Husein shall be selected. This ill-fated man suffered on a charge of heresy at Bagdad, in 309 of the Hegira.* The most refined cruelty was put in practice at his execution: and when life was extinct, his mangled remains were burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tigris. Mr. Higgins will find in Baronius—in the years 925, 938, and 975, A. D.—several well attested instances of Christians submitting

* Hottinger, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, gives the following abridged account of Al Husein's death, for holding opinions regarded as subversive of Mohamedan orthodoxy. "In qua, (*poesi scilicet*,) excelluit Huseinus, filius Manzor's, qui tamen "jussu Muctadiri trucidatus fuit, et in crucem actus Bagdadi. Huic supplicio additus fuit propter versus quosdam, qui, quoddam a theologia Muhammedica aliena essent, et de unione Christi ejusque geminam naturam loqui viderentur, obelo fuerant transfixi; author vero sapientum suffragio morti adjudicatus. Versus habentur "apud Elmac. p. 138, qui addit, *Sed Deus Opt. Maz, novit virum hunc, et annon "intenderit aliud ab eo, quod ejus verba prae se ferunt.*—Tom. II. p. 105.

to martyrdom, rather than, as their conquerors required, abjure their faith, and profess Mohamedanism. Yet does Mr. Higgins tell us, with all the confidence of a person who had searched Arabian archives, "that in the history of Islamism no case can be produced of a victim at the stake,"—none of a person "being put to death in time of peace for not embracing the religion of Islam!"* Again, I ask, did Mr. Higgins never read of the cruel treatment which Averroes, the learned preceptor of Maimonides, experienced? Was he not arraigned for heretical opinions, and condemned by the Caliph in person,—the evidence against him being treacherously obtained from the notebooks of his pupils? Was not his property confiscated, and himself confined to live among the Jews, an object of general persecution and obloquy? He fled from his persecutors,—and being retaken, his case was again proceeded in, when several of the Council were for the verdict of death, but happily the milder sentence of a public penance and recantation at last prevailed. He was therefore brought from prison, and placed on the uppermost step of the mosque, his head bare, while every one, as he passed into the mosque to prayers, was allowed to spit upon his face. Mr. Higgins will find the affair shortly related in Dr. Enfield's History of Philosophy.†

After these evidences of the *mild* and *tolerant* spirit of Mohamedanism, I could direct Mr. Higgins's attention to a document, which seems to have escaped his research, though I conceive generally known to inquirers into these matters,—I mean the *PATENT*, which Mohamed is said to have granted to the monks of Mount

* Apology, p. 52 and 53. † Vol. II. p. 246, &c.

Sinai, and to Christians in general. This instrument, if genuine,* considering the quarter whence it emanated, contains some humane provisions: it confers great privileges on those to whom it was granted, though not without some hard conditions; and though it purports to have been issued by the military prophet so early as in the second year of the Hegira, when his power was in its infancy, yet the *harach* even then was not forgotten. It prescribes in the Twelfth Regulation, "that those Christians, who are inhabitants, and with their riches and traffick are able to pay the poll-tax, shall pay no more than twelve drachms." A copy of this singular document is given in Pococke's Travels in the East.†

But, in Mr. Higgins's view, the early Caliphs were not only men of tolerant principles, but enlightened by knowledge, and great encouragers of learning. The "Mohamedans" (says Mr. Higgins)‡ "were, soon after the establishment of their religion, the most liberal and enlightened race upon earth: so that we are more indebted to them for useful learning, than even to the ancients." Here the burning of the celebrated library at Alexandria, by Omar, the second Caliph, is a somewhat awkward incident to prove, that *that* barbarian had any love of learning. Therefore, on the strength of some *negative* arguments used by Mr. Gibbon to discredit the account, the whole story is pronounced a mere fabrication,—“a Christian calumny to blacken

* Mosheim pronounces it "an artful piece of forgery. The fraud (he says) was plain; but the Mohamedans, in consequence of their ignorance and stupidity, believed it to be a genuine production of their chief, and continue still in the same opinion."—Eccl. Hist. vol. II. p. 128, note.

† Vol. I. p. 268 and 269. ‡ Apology, p. 55.

“the religion of the impostor.”* Mr. Gibbon’s arguments contain nothing to convince any body, excepting those, whom, when a purpose is to be served, any thing will convince. To go further into this point is beside my subject.

I was for some time at a loss to conceive how it was possible for Mr. Higgins to have fallen into the mistake of representing the first Caliphs as men of tolerant principles and lovers of learning. I think I have discovered the ground of this mistake: I am persuaded it has originated in not discriminating between the character of the Caliphs who governed for nearly the first hundred and fifty years, and of those who then succeeded, known in Mohamedan annals by the name of the Abassides. These latter were princes of liberal and enlightened policy, and to them exclusively I conceive ought the compliments of Mr. Higgins to have been applied. But the reader will more easily perceive the mistake into which Mr. Higgins has fallen, by casting his eye over the following dates:—

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
MOHAMED died.....	11	632
The four first Caliphs who succeeded him, called by way of distinction, <i>socii</i> , or companions of Mohamed, were—		
I. ABUBECER, who died.....	13	634
II. OMAR, died.....	23	644
III. OTHMAN, murdered by his rebellious subjects.....	35	656
IV. ALI, assassinated by Abd’alraham	39	660

* Apology, p. 58.

After the assassination of Ali, and the resignation of Hassan, his eldest son MOAVIAH was elected Caliph; he was great grandson of OMMIAH, of the family of Mohamed, and the first of the dynasty of the Omniades. Fourteen of his descendants possessed the Caliphate in succession, though not in every case the lineal heir; a collateral relation, as Butler remarks, (*Horæ Biblicæ*,) being sometimes preferred. The last of the race was Merwan II., who, after being defeated in the field, was murdered in the year of the Hegira 132, in that of Christ 749. Then followed the revolution which introduced the dynasty of the ABASSIDES, —the first of which race was Abul Abbas,—he died A.D. 753;—the second the celebrated Al-Mansor, the founder of Bagdad; forty-five princes of this line possessed the Caliphate in succession. The period from Al-Mansor to Al-Motasem, *the eighth of the Abassides, who died A.D. 841*, constitutes the GOLDEN AGE of the Caliphate. It is among the princes who adorned this period, that we are to look for men of liberal principles, and patrons of learning and science. To such characters as Al-Mansor, and the enlightened Al-Mamon, called by Elmacinus, ABASSIDARUM DOCTISSIMUS, the compliments of Mr. Higgins may with some show of truth apply; but not at all to *Mohamed*, or his *first successors*. Of these nothing favourable, in regard to toleration, can be said;—to literature they were strangers, they cared not for it,—the Koran with them superseded every other book,—theirs was the age of ignorance and bigotry in Mohamedan story. They had, it is true, the credit of extending and partly settling the empire. The last of the Omniades, as I have said, was murdered. With the Abassidean princes came in milder principles of govern-

ment : knowledge and the arts began to be cultivated ; and the seat of empire was removed to Bagdad. Mr. Higgins has paid his compliments to the wrong party ; they may be said to be due in some measure to the latter princes : to the former they are inapplicable. Dr. Hunt, who was professor of Arabic at Oxford, and preceptor in the eastern languages to Sir William Jones, has so accurately stated the question, as it respects the claims of the Mohamedan Caliphs to be viewed in the light of encouragers of learning, or otherwise, that I am sure every scholar will be obliged by having laid before him the following Extracts from the learned professor's Oration "de Antiquitate, Elegantiâ, Utilitate Linguae Arabicæ," delivered at Oxford, A. D. 1738. They seem to me to form an admirable corrective to the crude and confused misrepresentations of Mr. Higgins.

"De quibus (temporibus scilicet quæ pseudo-prophetam
 "sunt secuta) quidem observari potest literarum studia sub
 "primis *Kalifis*, nihil aut parum admodum processisse. Marte
 "enim undique obstrepenste, *musis* vix erat locus. Namque,
 "ut taceam Abubecrum quatuorque ejus successores, qui
 "Mohamedem proximè secuti, erant toti ejus superstitione
 "fundanda occupati ;—ne ipsi quidem OMMIADÆ, qui post
 "illos regnârunt, quatuordecim licèt numero, et victoriis e
 "Græciâ Syriâque reportatis inelyti, quicquam de literaturâ
 "excolendâ videntur cogitâsse. Nomina fortasse scientiarum
 "a doctis illis, quas debellârunt, gentibus acceperunt ; studia
 "verò prorsus neglexerunt. Verùm non invitâ adeò Minervâ
 "nati sunt, qui illis in imperio successerunt, ABBASSIDÆ ;
 "cum illorum auspiciis, ut auctor est Abulfaragius, '*reversi*
 "'sunt animi ab incuriâ suâ, et experrecti intellectus ab de-
 "liquio suo.' Hujus enim familiæ secundus, ALMANSUR, qui

“Bagdādum, Khalifarum postea sedem, condidit, ipse insigniter doctus, doctos omnes insigni honore est prosecutus.”
 —Of *Almamon*, Dr. Hunt says, “Hic, Khalifarum doctiorum longe doctissimus in regnum armis jam stabilitum, a populo ultro vocatus, nihil prius antiquiusve habuit, quàm ut nomen Mohamedanum, gloriâ militari dudum ubique clarum, bonarum etiam artium, scientiarumque laudibus, haud minori ipsi honori futuris, accumularet. Hoc animo, congregatis linguarum quotquot fere uspiam fuere, peritissimis, interrogatisque de libris in uno quoque sermone lectu dignissimis, cùm innumera auctorum, in omni literarum genere insignium, nomina ei renunciata essent, ratus sese thesaurum omnibus majorum spoliis, utcunque amplis, potiozem præ oculis habere, complures ex domesticis suis, ingenti pecuniâ instructis, per omnia *mawadi-al-ilm*, i. e. loca scientiarum, (ut cum Abulfaragio, loquar) Syriam nimirum, Armeniam, Persiam, et Ægyptum dimisit, qui scriptores laudatos omni studio conquirerent, pretioque quantumvis magno compararent. Et quoniam *Græciam* fecundam semper præ cæteris nationibus, tum philosophiæ, tum omnium artium humaniorum parentem a multis retrò sæculis fuisse cognoverat, eam præcipuè hâc occasione peragrari voluit, jussis nuntiis, ut non tantùm privatorum scrinia capsasque excuterent, sed et principum, a quibus ejus rei veniam per literas prius impetraverat, bibliothecas inspicerent et scrutarentur.”*

One word on the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. I have no desire to apologise for the actors in those scenes of carnage. I lament that the moderation displayed by the conquerors of Spain, when their posterity was driven out of the Peninsula, was so ill requited by the Christians. I only observe, it does not follow

* De Antiquitate, Elegantiâ, Utilitate Linguae Arabicæ Oratio habita Oxonii, in Scholâ Linguarum VII, Kalend. Augusti. MDCCXXXVIII. Oxonii, 1739. Page 18, &c.

because the Christians were in this and other instances sanguinary, that the Mohamedans were not shedders of blood. Liberal Catholics and Protestants have alike concurred in censuring those proceedings as cruel and impolitic. The author of the *Horæ Biblicæ* has recorded his condemnation of them in these words:—

“Philip the Third, at the instigation of the Inquisition, a tribunal always to be mentioned with the bitterest expressions of detestation, issued an edict, ordering all Moriscoes, without any exception, to quit the Spanish territories. From the effect of this improvident measure Spain never recovered.”*

To what extent Mr. Higgins is a believer in the truth of Christianity, I pretend not to determine. The declarations in its behalf, found in his Apology, are so intermixed with insinuations of an opposite nature, as to leave the reader in suspense, or incline him to the less favourable supposition. How any one, whose mind was impressed with a sincere respect for revelation, could pen for instance the following sentence, I am at a loss to conceive:—“To deny the wisdom of this dispensation” [the *Christian* is intended] “would evidently” (says Mr. Higgins) “be prophane, though” (continues he) “the reality of it may be doubted, and

Mr. Higgins's
Christianity
questionable.

* Page 239. Those who may wish for fuller information respecting this not only improvident but most cruel measure, will find it in the first volume of Dr. Michael Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts. A residence of some years at Lisbon in capacity of chaplain to the factory there, gave Dr. Geddes an opportunity of collecting authentic information on this subject. Of the Tract itself, forming the sixth in the volume, it is a sufficient recommendation to mention, that Mosheim, the ecclesiastical historian, thought it worth his while to translate it into Latin,—at that time the language of the learned throughout Europe. Geddes's Tracts, in three volumes octavo, were first published in London, from 1702 to 1706, and afterwards complete in 1730. The author died in 1715.

"the discussion of it does not appertain to my subject."* Again,† remarking on the word παράκλητος, paraclete, in his zeal to establish the claims of the Arabian to that character, Mr. Higgins betrays an aversion to the first Christian writers, that to me at least seems to border on malevolence. But I give Mr. Higgins's own words. "That the word [paraclete] being confessed to be Hebrew,‡ if it be wrong written, it is much more likely "that the early Christian writers, *the greatest liars upon earth*, should lie to serve their own purpose, than that "St. John, a *Hebrew*," [a *Christian writer*, I presume,] "understanding both Hebrew and Greek, (even without "allowing him the gift of tongues,) should have made "a mistake, and rendered the word by wrong Greek "letters." Language so acrimonious carries in it its own antidote: and Mr. Higgins himself, I think, upon reconsideration, will regret its virulence. The early Christian writers may have been credulous: some of them on particular points may have reasoned ill: they may occasionally have used arguments in support of their cause which were not needed, and had better been avoided:—but that they were pre-eminent in mendacity, I take upon myself to deny. They were pious, well intentioned, and, in not a few instances, learned men. The world has borne testimony to their virtues

* Apology, p. 29. † Apology, p. 74.

‡ "Being confessed to be Hebrew:" by whom? by Mr. Higgins possibly: by few else, as far as I know. Every critic, whose authority is worth regarding, derives the word from the Greek. Ernesti, as quoted by Michaelis, (Introd. to the New Testament, vol. I. p. 188,) says, and truly too, "that the Jews borrowed the word "PRAKLITA from the Greeks." Its existence in the "Chaldee Paraphrase" is no proof of an Hebrew origin. As under my *fourth* head I examine more fully into what Mr. Higgins has advanced respecting the term *paraclete*, I will only observe here, that he must excuse me, if I venture to prefer before his ipse dixit on such a subject the authority of such men as BUXTORF and SCHLEUSNER.

and sufferings, and charity may well cast a veil over inconsistencies, which little affect their veracity as writers, and are inseparable perhaps from human weakness. With due respect I submit to Mr. Higgins two words of advice, which I found in one of these much-wronged authors: *ψευδολογίαν βδελύττου*, which may be freely rendered by those words of the oath, referred to at the sixty-fifth page, in which the followers of Mohamed stipulate to abstain from,—“forging calumnies.”

Mr. Higgins has asserted the unrivalled excellence of Mohamedanism, and attempted to identify it as a system of religious belief with the Christian. The slightest inquiry will convince the impartial reader that there is little common between the two systems. ISLAMISM,* whether examined in reference to the doctrines pro-

Third Head.

Mr. Higgins's opinion about the identity of Mohamedanism and Christianity without foundation.

* ISLAMISM. With this name was Mokamedanism designated by its founder: “If they embrace ‘ISLAM,’ they are surely directed.” (Koran, sur. 3.) The term ISLAM is thus rendered in Richardson:—“obedience to the will of God, submission, “humbling oneself, resigning oneself to the divine disposal:” it is also used, he adds, to denote “the true orthodox faith among the Mohamedans.” Sale says, the word may also be translated, “the religion, or state of salvation,”—but observes, the other sense, that importing “resignation or submission to the “service of God,” is more approved by the Mohamedans, and is the one adopted in the *Koran*. Prel. Disc. 70. Mr. Higgins, I remark, in a note at the fourth page of the *Apology*, gives the less approved sense, on the authority of Hyde, and says not a syllable about any other signification of the term. The note is, “The word “Islam means *status salutis*, qui Lat. *Islamismus* vocari possit: et statum talem ingrediens est Muslim, seu Musliman. Hyde.” I think I see the reason, why Mr. Higgins chooses to prefer the less approved meaning of Islam: it is not because he knows any thing more than others about the signification of the Arabic root “*Salama*:” but there is another book, in which the passage occurs: “Neither “is there *salvation* in any other; for there is none other NAME under heaven given “among men, whereby we must be “*saved*:”—bonitatis verba imitari, major malitia est.—Musliman, from the Arabic word Muslim, means an orthodox believer in the religion of Islam. Conjecturing from the compliments he is ever paying to that system, Mr. Higgins must approach very near to the character of a Mussulman.

posed as objects of faith, or to the precepts it offers for the regulation of conduct, will be found to present no tenet that it was not in the power of natural reason to have discovered, nor any views of duty that bear not the marks of human origin.

This shown
from contrast-
ing—first, the
MORALS of the
two systems.

To begin with MORALS. Mr. Higgins tells us, that Mohamedanism “abounds with precepts of benevolence and sound morality.”* So have other false religions: they have many of them contained valuable precepts of morality, yet have they generally failed in forming their professors to habits of virtue. In regard to Mohamedanism, I go not the length of denying, that there may be respectable characters who profess that belief, yet am I by no means prepared to admit, that the followers of Mohamed in virtue and moral worth so far outstrip the inhabitants of Christian states, as Mr. Higgins undertakes to assert.† Others, as well as Mr. Higgins, have read the works of gentlemen who have travelled in the eastern nations; but, in regard to

* The following condemnatory judgment passed upon the MORALS of the Koran, occurs in the works of one who was no “Christian bigot,” but a “philosopher,”—“a liberal and enlightened one,”—and therefore has a stronger claim on Mr. Higgins’s attention. “The admirers and followers of the ALKORAN,” says DAVID HUME, “insist very much on the excellent moral precepts, which are interspersed throughout that wild performance. But it is to be supposed that the ARABIC words which correspond to the ENGLISH equity, justice, temperance, meekness, charity, were such as, from the constant use of that tongue, must always be taken in a good sense: and it would have argued the greatest ignorance not of morals, but of language, to have mentioned them with any epithets besides those of applause and approbation. But would we know, whether the pretended prophet had really attained a just sentiment of morals? Let us attend to his narration; and we shall soon find, that he bestows praise on such instances of treachery, inhumanity, cruelty, revenge, bigotry, as are utterly incompatible with civilized society. No steady rule of right seems there to be attended to; and every action is blamed or praised, so far only as it is beneficial or hurtful to the true believers.”—*Essays*, 4to. edit. vol. I. 257, 258.

† See sect. 79.

the state of morals found in those countries, have come to a directly opposite conclusion.

In estimating the practical operation of any system, which claims to be regarded as a rule of manners, we must not look only at isolated maxims of duty which it may contain, or at occasional admonitions that may meet the eye in favour of prayer, almsgiving, or of any other merely external act;—these, it is confessed, are sufficiently numerous in the Koran;—we must go deeper, and particularly observe, what such a system prescribes for the management of the heart,—for the government and direction of the passions and affections. Unless it provide to have these under proper control, moral proficiency can have no place. And here I remark a capital imperfection in the moral system of Mohamed. The government of the heart and affections, as a duty is not even recognised in the Koran. I find in that book no directions on the necessity of counter-acting appetite, or checking the importunities of desire: all, with the exception of some silly injunctions about fasting* and pilgrimages, is on the side of inclination,

* At page 35 of the Apology is a *whining* passage about the severity of the fast, by which the giving of the Koran from heaven is yearly commemorated. “The Fast of the Ramadan,” says Mr. Higgins, “which by the circulating effect of the lunar year must often fall in the hottest period of an Asiatic summer, when the pious Musselmen are forbidden to taste a morsel of food, or even a single drop of water to quench their parching thirst, from morning to evening, for thirty days together, is surely something not very like pandering to their passions and appetites.” Now what is there in the futile mortifications of the Rhamadan Carnival to call forth such long-faced commiseration? It is true, according to the letter of the passage, surat 2, in which the fast is instituted, the Mussulman is not to eat nor drink from sun-rising to sun-set;—but as soon as the evening sets in he is allowed an unrestrained indulgence in eating and drinking, and every sensual gratification;—to eat, drink, and carouse, “until he can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black one by the morning light.” He then again abstains for the day,

and profligacy seems sanctioned by law. With how little of restraint that part of our nature called by Plato the concupiscible, has to combat in the system of Mohamed, the reader will judge from the following regulations. Of marriage:—"And if ye fear that ye "shall not act with equity towards orphans of the "female sex, take in marriage of such other women "as please you, two, or three, or four, and not more."* Again,—“If ye be desirous to exchange a wife for "another wife, and ye have given one of them a talent," (that is, ever so large a dower—Sale,) "take not away "any thing therefrom."† Divorce:—"You may divorce your wives twice, and then either retain them "with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness."‡ Now will any man, will Mr. Higgins himself, in his sober senses contend, that morality can flourish upon any sound principles where such vagrant concubinage is permitted? Is it, I may ask, under the influence of such a system that we may expect to find examples of chastity, conjugal fidelity, temperance, or indeed of any of the virtues of self-government and self-command? Mr. Higgins's "sound morality" of the Koran, I suspect, will here be found false, pernicious, and only calculated to engender sensuality and every loose dis-

and riots as before during the night. And this alternation of devotion and debauchery for thirty days together constitutes the *terrible* Rhamadan! The character of this fast is well touched upon in the following passage, in Hackspan's "Fides et Leges "Mohamedis," and by him quoted from the writings of Ludovicus Vives:—"Tale "jejunium indicare nuntio et prophetâ Dei non est dignum. Quomodo legislator "ad crapulam et ingluviem quasi adhortatur et instruit suos? Primum jubet cibis "abstinere usque ad serum, vespere autem quasi detractis frânis et sublatiis repagulis emittit edendi avidos ad præsepe belluinum, *edite*, inquit, *et bibite usque "ad auroram*. Quid potest dici immoderatus, aut magis pecunium, quàm stratos "mensis accumbere a sole occidente ad orientem? Hæc non est jejunii lex, sed "saginæ magisterium et officina." *Fid. et Leges Mahumed.* Altorfi, 1646.

* Surat 4. † Ibid. ‡ Surat 2.

position.* Let us now turn to the Christian code, between which and Mohamedanism, according to Mr.

* I have thought it best to throw the subjoined particulars into the form of a note. In the Apology, at page 35, I find the following section:—

“THE ARABIAN LAWGIVER PROVIDES FOR THE HONOURABLE MARRIAGE OF JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN WOMEN WITH MOHAMEDANS, BUT PROHIBITS THEM AS CONCUBINES. HAVE EITHER JEWS OR CHRISTIANS EVER THOUGHT OF MAKING ANY RECIPROCAL PROVISION?”

No marriage-law to the above effect in the Koran is referred to. But though Mr. Higgins has not taken the trouble to say *where*, yet from his confident manner he must have known, or on some authority believed, that such a statute had a place somewhere in the Arabian code. And, in the present instance, he is right: the ordinance does exist: it occurs in surat 5, near the beginning, and is in these words:—

“AND YE ARE ALSO ALLOWED TO MARRY FREE WOMEN THAT ARE BELIEVERS, AND ALSO FREE WOMEN OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED THE SCRIPTURES BEFORE YOU,” [I. E. JEWS AND CHRISTIANS,] “WHEN YE SHALL HAVE ASSIGNED THEM THEIR DOWER; LIVING CHASTELY WITH THEM, NEITHER COMMITTING FORNICATION, NOR TAKING THEM FOR CONCUBINES.”

This is the regulation referred to, and is the law by which Mohamed provided for the *honourable* admission of Jewish and Christian women into his polygamous haram. I wish Mr. Higgins would state the difference between Mohamedan polygamy and concubinage. If any, it is very small. What else but concubinage was it in the sensual Al-Walid, who married and divorced sixty-three wives? But how either practice can be honourable, or consist with Christian morals,—and Mr. Higgins says he is a Christian,—I am at a loss to comprehend. Taylor, the writer on CIVIL LAW, says well, that “the question of a plurality of wives has always been opposed by the best friends of Christianity, which was always unfavourable to this practice.” Mr. Higgins was in the right, however, in supposing the regulation existed; but how will he explain the following ordinance which occurs in the second surat, and flatly contravenes the one above given, by positively inhibiting the Saracen from intermarrying with either Jewish or Christian women:—“MARRY NOT WOMEN WHO ARE IDOLATERS, UNTIL THEY BELIEVE.” In Reineccius’s version, “Et ne nubatis cum fœminis infidelibus, donec credunt.” Selden, who understood Arabic, resting his assertion on this very passage, says,—“Disertè etiam Mahumedes prohibet Musulmanorum suorum et infidelium, seu qui non Mahumedismo nomina dederint, conjugia, usquedum crediderint, id est, Musulmani fierent.” Tom. I. p. 564. I leave to Mr. Higgins’s superior sagacity the task of reconciling this and other antilegomena found in the Koran: and shall conclude this note by bringing under his notice another of the Arabian’s marriage laws, which, if I mistake not, shows in its true light the sort of respect Mohamed had for Jewish and Christian women, and the concern he manifested for their *honourable* marriage. For an obvious reason, I shall give it in Latin, and leave it to be translated and expounded by Mr. Higgins himself; and when he has

Higgins, there exists a close affinity. "But I say unto you, whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."* Here we have a regulation worthy of the religion of "purity and truth." "Christ," as has been justly observed, "by thus enjoining a regulation of the thoughts, directs his stroke to the root of the evil." Here we have, in the correct meaning of the epithet, *sound* morality. In this single passage stands recorded for ever the extent and perfection of Christian morals. Mr. Higgins will have some difficulty in finding its parallel in all the hundred and fourteen surats of the Koran.

Mohamed, we have seen, conceded to his followers the liberty of repudiating a wife for the slightest offence; or, to speak more truly, for no offence at all, but simply because a feeling of dislike had succeeded to one of personal attachment.† On a point of duty

ascertained its meaning, I trust we shall hear no more about Mohamed having provided for the honourable marriage of Jewish and Christian women, &c. The ordinance is,—"*SCORTATOR NON NUBET NISI SCORTATRICE ALICUI, VEL ASSOCIATRICE, I. E. IDOLOLATRÆ.*" Surat 24. Hackspan's short but honest exclamation on this marriage regulation I here give, because it may serve as a clue to guide Mr. Higgins into its true meaning: "*Indignissime autem factum, quod Christiani æquiparantur meretricibus et scortatoribus.*"

* Matt. v. 28.

† The Koran in several passages gives to the husband absolute power over his wife: the retaining her in that capacity, or ejecting her from his home, is a matter that depends on his sole will, pleasure, or caprice. Hence dissolutions of the conjugal union take place on the most frivolous grounds. If a husband dislikes the wife he has taken, he has only *orally* to intimate it, and send her away, and the nuptial contract is dissolved.

"Collige sarcinulas et exi,"

is all the bill of divorcement needed. There is one feature in these separations peculiarly disgusting. I give it in the words of Michaelis. Having observed, respecting Jewish divorces, that after the dissolution of the marriage was complete,

that bears so extensively on human happiness and the welfare of society, how different from the accommodating precepts of Mohamed is the direction given by the founder of Christianity. "But I," says the divine Saviour, "say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery.* The solemn and binding character of the marriage contract is by this law fully recognised: this contract is not to be dissolved lightly and for any trifling reason, but only in the case of adultery in the wife,—not therefore for purposes of libertinism and licentiousness.

Further, the difference between the morality of the Gospel and that of Mohamed, is no less strikingly visible as it respects another class of duties. Of the milder and more useful virtues, consisting chiefly in the exercise of the benevolent affections, small account is made in Arabian ethics. Humility, patience under injuries, meekness, the forgiveness of enemies, benevolence to mankind, are duties little insisted on. The Mussulman is a stranger to that sublime morality,

if both parties were satisfied to renew the connexion, Moses put no obstacle in the way, he goes on to say, "that there cannot be a more complete counterpart to the Mosaic statute than that law of Mohamed, by which, when the divorce was once complete, and the wife gone from his house, there was no possible way for the husband to recover her, than by another man's marrying and cohabiting with her, and then to gratify the former, divorcing her in like manner. * * *

* * * * * Mahomet, or rather the ancient Arabians, from whom he adopted this rule, may have had a very good design in view in establishing it, namely, that it might operate as a sort of punishment, and a means of deterring husbands from divorcing their wives rashly, and on frivolous grounds: and they no doubt supposed that a husband would thus think the more seriously before he dismissed his wife. The measure, however, is too indelicate and too dangerous for the morals of a nation."—Comment. on the Laws of Moses, vol. II. p. 139.

* Matt. v. 22.

which impels the philanthropist to endeavour to promote the greatest possible good, and to submit the inferior affections to the desire of the general happiness. He finds in his sacred book retaliation of injuries prescribed with the authority of law, and revenge, while it exceeds not the measure of offence, commended for proper spirit. Precepts like these give rise to the stern and vindictive feelings, which mark the character of the Turk and the Arab. "Whosoever shall take vengeance," so the Koran teaches, "equal to the injury that hath been done him, and shall afterwards be unjustly treated," [i. e. by the aggressor's seeking to revenge himself again of the person injured, by offering him some further violence,—Sale,] "verily God will assist him.* Again, "If ye take vengeance on any, take a vengeance proportionable to the wrong which hath been done you; but if ye suffer wrong patiently, verily this will be better for the patient." We find in the forty-second surat, "And the retaliation of evil ought to be an evil proportionate thereto." It is added, indeed, "but he who forgiveth, and is reconciled to his enemy, shall receive his reward from God." I care little for the qualifying sentence, intended to soften the severity of the precept by feebly commending forgiveness:—it is enough to condemn the system as a rule of morals, that it admits, and as it were, legalizes *revenge* as a principle of action. What different views on these subjects do we find in the Christian scriptures! There all vindictive feelings, in whatever degree subsisting, are condemned:—"Avenge not yourself, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, ven-

* Surat 22.

“geance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. There-
 “fore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst,
 “give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals
 “of fire on his head.”* Forgiveness of injuries, it has
 been observed, is inculcated by Christ oftener, with
 more earnestness, and under a greater variety of forms,
 than any other virtue. “If ye forgive men their tres-
 “passes, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:
 “but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will
 “your Father forgive your trespasses.”† “Mohame-
 “danism,” Mr. Higgins tells us, “is reproached with
 “copying its morality from the gospel.”‡ No one, who
 has ever looked into the Koran, will, I think, charge
 its author with such a plagiarism. Mr. Higgins men-
 tions§ with approbation an attempt of Mohamed to
 mitigate the horrible law of the TAIR,|| or blood-avenger.

* Rom. xii. 19, 20. † Matt. vi. 14, 15.

‡ Apology, p. 30. § Apology, sect. 203.

|| The law, by which the nearest of kin to a person murdered had the right of slaying the murderer with his own hand, obtained in these countries from the earliest times. The person, on whom the office of avenging the shedding of blood devolved, was called in Arabic TAIR, in Hebrew GOEL, rendered in our Bible version, “the revenger of blood,” and “avenger of blood;” expressively in Cranmer’s translation, “executer of blood.” The guilty party sometimes compounded for his crime by a pecuniary satisfaction made to the blood-avenger. This in all cases of deliberate homicide was forbidden by Moses. Num. xxxv. 19—21. “Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer.” “The revenger of blood shall slay the murderer when he meeteth him.” Even the cities of refuge gave him no protection: for, as the above statute is further explained in Deut. xix. 12, he is to be fetched from thence. “But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he die, and fleeth into one of these cities: then the elders” (senes, judices ejus urbis, i. e. urbis in quâ degebat) “shall send and fetch him thence, and deliver him into the hand of the (GOEL) avenger of blood, that he may die.” The justice and wisdom of this statute are admitted by all commentators. “Moses verò hunc morem (*vitam scil. argento a GOELE redimendi*) hâc lege (Num. xxxv. 31) datâ abrogat. Et verò “erat prudentiæ legislatoris, turpem et abjectam consuetudinem prohiberi; interest “non familiæ solum, sed et reipublicæ, ut in homicidas animadvertatur, nec judex

This he endeavoured to effect by recommending the acceptance of a pecuniary compensation from the actual murderer in lieu of revenge. One consequence of this enactment was, that the poor man had little security for his life against the rich; it being no punishment to a rich murderer to pay the fine. This is an observation of Michaelis:—who, after remarking at some length upon this well-intended but injudicious attempt at legislation, concludes with these words,—“upon the whole, Mohamed seems to have had no very singular talents for a legislator, and the contents of his laws serve sufficiently to assure us that no Deity inspired them.”*

Much credit is given to Mohamed by Mr. Higgins in the *Apology*, for prohibiting among his followers the use of wine. “We find no canting recommendation to

“dolori potius cognatorum servit, quam exemplum poenarum proponit, quo ter-
 “reantur improbi, atque boni tutò degere possint.”—Rosenmüller in loc. The
 passage of the Koran in which Mohamed attempts to mitigate this law is the
 following. “O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain:
 “the free shall die for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a
 “woman: but he whom his brother shall forgive, may be prosecuted, and obliged
 “to make *satisfaction* according to what is just, and a *fine* shall be set upon him
 “with humanity.” Sur 2, p. 20. By this regulation Mohamed gave to a bad con-
 suetudinary practice the sanction of law: for which bungling piece of legislation he
 is complimented by Mr. Higgins, but on more solid views condemned by Michaelis.
 The inefficacy of a pecuniary mulct for the prevention of injuries, is well illustrated
 by an anecdote I find in Aulus Gellius. It was enacted by one of the laws of the
 Twelve Tables, “*That for common blows with the fist the punishment should be*
 “*twenty-five asses of brass.*” Under the protection of this law one Lucius Vera-
 tius, who had more money than good manners, he tell us, used to amuse himself
 with slapping on the face such citizens as he met with in his walks; and then
 turning to his servant, who always attended with a supply of the requisite coin,
 ordered him to pay to the party who had received the blow, the legal consideration
 of twenty-five asses. “*Quis enim erit tam inops, quem ab injuriæ faciendæ lubidine*
 “*viginti quinque asses deterreant?*”—Lib. xx. cap. i.

* Comment. on the Laws of Moses, vol. II. p. 210—214.

“sobriety and moderation: gaming and drunkenness
 “are pronounced unpardonable sins—and cut up by the
 “roots at once—are totally abolished.”* In respect to
 the absolute prohibition of wine, I am not sure how far
 such a regulation was altogether wise:—it might be
 proper for the hot climate of Arabia, where drunken-
 ness is attended with far more dreadful effects than in
 more temperate regions. Be that as it may;—its
 prohibition did not certainly originate with Mohamed.
 A law making the drinking of wine a capital offence in
 Arabia, existed ages before Mohamed appeared. This is
 expressly related by Diodorus Siculus. Νόμος δ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς
 (the Arabians) μήτε σῖτον σπείρειν, μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον,
 ΜΗΤΕ Οἶνον ἔρπασθαι, μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν· ὅς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα
 ποιῶν εὐρίσκηται, θάνατον αὐτῷ πρόστιμον ἔσται.† Had Mr. Higgins
 ever seen the above passage, and the valuable note upon
 it by Wesselingius, he could not have fallen into the
 error of making Mohamed the author of a practice,
 which, as it appears, existed in Arabia from the re-
 motest period.‡ Of the interdict itself I am of opinion
 with Michaelis, that the general prohibition of wine

* Apology, p. 36.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xix. sect 94.

Literally—A law is to them not to sow corn, nor to plant any fruit-bearing trees,
 NOR TO USE WINE, nor to build house; and whoever is found transgressing in these
 respects, let him be capitally punished.

‡ I here give the note, omitting only the Hebrew from the want of Hebraic
 characters:—“Rechabitarum idem olim mos, idem institutum. Ipsimet profitentur
 “apud Jeremiam vatem, cap. xxxv. 7. imperatum sibi a majoribus fuisse. ‘Vinum
 “ne bibite in perpetuum, nec vos, nec liberi vestri: domum ne struite, frumentum
 “ne serite, neque vitem plantate, neque sit vobis illa, sed in tentoriis habitate
 “semper.’ Qui quidem Rechabite cum ex Kineis genus deducant, Kinei verò
 “Jethronis, soceri Moysi, eadem olim, quæ Nabathæi, loca incolentis, sint posteri,
 “adparet ab antiquissimâ ætate hanc vitæ disciplinam in ARABIA convaluisse,
 “eamque a Rechabitarum majoribus in terram Palestinam fuisse importatam.
 “Mansit Saracenis, indidem ortis, eademque Arabiæ loca incolentibus, in sera

is one of the greatest errors in legislative policy, and when, by the interference of religion, it is declared an abomination, I look upon it as a very great misfortune for mankind. Between the moderate use of it and its abuse for purposes of inebriation, there is surely a wide difference. That the law itself is now either disregarded, or the letter of it evaded by the use of another intoxicating liquor, is, I believe, pretty generally allowed. "The most dangerous," says Michaelis, "of
 "exhilarating liquors, and that whose use is so dread-
 "fully inveterate in Persia and Arabia, is opium; the
 "effects of which, travellers, Chardin, for instance, de-
 "scribe in such terms as must prevent any man who has
 "read them from ever making panegyrics on Mohametism
 "for its prohibition of wine. Nor will any law,—no,
 "nor any prohibition of religion be sufficient, after all,
 "to prevent the drinking of wine; but in consequence
 "of the prohibition, they do it secretly, and of course
 "may be said to gulp it down in large draughts rather
 "than drink it; in which case it intoxicates the sooner
 "and more seriously than when drunken at leisure in
 "agreeable company. We hear, at least, of very great
 "excesses in consequence of drunkenness among Ma-
 "hometans, *probably of still more than among Chris-*
 "*tians*; and taking all circumstances into consideration
 "together, the prohibition of wine must be condemned
 "as a cruel and pernicious device of mistaken policy."*

"tempora idem ferme vitæ usus: nec eorum quisquam, verba Ammiani sunt e
 "L. xiv. 4. aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo
 "quæritat victum. Tum post pauca, victus universis caro ferina est, lactisque
 "abundans copiâ quâ sustentantur, et herbæ multiplices—et plerosque nos vidimus
 "FRUMENTI usum et VINI penitus ignorantes." Tom. II. p. 390. Edit. Amst. 1746,

* Commentaries, vol. III. 135, 136.

Mr. Higgins admires the founder of Islamism for his liberality in opening heaven, or as the Apology has it, the "*inferior places*" at least in heavenly mansions, to professors of *all* religions, according to the good works they have performed. "The Koran says," observes Mr. Higgins, "certainly the faithful" (so Mohamed calls his sectaries,) "the Jews, the Christians, the Sabians, and in general whoever believes in one only God, and in a day of judgment, and PRACTISES VIRTUE, will be rewarded by God; he need not fear."* Mr. Higgins, with his usual confidence, here remarks, "I think if there had been one clear, undisputed passage in the gospels similar in doctrine to this, we should not," &c. &c. I take leave to point out to Mr. Higgins *that* passage, which occurs in St. John,† and is in these words,—"The hour is coming, in which all that are in the grave shall hear his voice and come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." Yet I dare assure Mr. Higgins, that in adducing the above passage, he has been singularly unfortunate. The passage, I aver, is *neither* clear *nor* undisputed. Our Selden, the greatest jurist of his day, entertains one opinion as to its meaning,—the latitudinarian one of Mr. Higgins; while Mr. Sale, the learned translator, maintains another; and asserts, that several writers have *wrongly concluded*, that the Mohamedans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be

* Apology, p. 45. † Chap. v. 29.

sincere, and lead a good life. So much for Mr. Higgins's *clear and undisputed* passage.*

Notwithstanding the assertion at the foot of the fifty-ninth page, "fair and free discussion" has not generally been encouraged by the followers of Mohamed: and their reserve, it must be owned, is the dictate of prudence. Inquiry they know will be fatal to their system. It is an admitted fact, that the Moslem doctors were not a little staggered by the arguments and conversations of the lamented Martyn. And were the case, which Mr. Higgins puts actually to happen, of some rich Mufti† opening a mosque in London, with missionary views, I, for my part, have no fear about the

* When the reader has gone through Sale's note, which I here subjoin, he will be convinced how little dependance can be placed upon Mr. Higgins's confident assertion. So far is the passage quoted from being one of clear and indisputable meaning, that, according to Selden, (tom. I. p. 663,) considerable difference of opinion exists among Mohammedan commentators respecting it.

"From these words, which are repeated in the fifth chapter, several writers have "wrongly concluded, that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their "Prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere "and lead a good life. It is true, some of their doctors do agree this to be the "purport of their words, but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon "revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the Koran, which "expressly declare that none can be saved, who is not of the Mohammedan faith; "and particularly by those of the third chapter. '*Whoever follows any other "religion than Islam, i. e. the Mohammedan, it shall not be accepted of him, "and at the last day he shall be of those who perish.*' However, others are of "opinion, that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently; taking the "meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Christian, or a Sabian, "shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion, and "become a Moslem, which they say is intended by the following words, '*whoever "believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right.*' And this "interpretation is approved by Mr. Reland, (whose works inter scripta argumenti "*hujus principalem locum tuentur—Walchius,*) who thinks the words here import "no more than those of the Apostle, '*In every nation he that feareth God and "worketh righteousness, is accepted with him:*' from which it must not be inferred "that the religion of nature, or any other is sufficient to save without faith in "CHRIST."—Koran, page 8.—Sale.

† Apology, p. 60.

result, as if Islamism would gain by the experiment. I deny not, that curiosity, or the love of singularity, might attract hearers: every day's experience convinces us, that the weakest and wildest opinions find some converts. Upon what other principle, indeed, can we account for the publication of a work like that of the "Apology for the Life of Mohamed," by Mr. Higgins? I am convinced, however, that without the aid of "priests,"—"fires,"—or "bombarding admirals,"* after a three weeks' hearing in London, Islamism would, in point of credibility, be placed by every sensible man on the same shelf with the Tales of Prince Arthur, or the Arabian Nights.

The anecdote, so exultingly set forth at the fifty-ninth page, is intended, it should seem, to lead the reader to a different conclusion. Mr. Higgins says he has "some doubts what would happen, even in this *enlightened* age, as it calls itself, if the Grand Seignior was to send (as our missionaries did a Mr. Drummond to Geneva, to preach their peculiar doctrines) one of the richest of his Muftis to build a mosque, and to preach the doctrines of the Koran in the centre of London." But I give the anecdote, with a trifling addition. Some Jesuits, it is known, who had settled in India, at AGRA, by invitation from Akber, published, about the year 1600, two works on the Christian religion, for the information of the emperor and his Mussulman subjects. These apologetick tracts were answered by Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabedin, a learned Persian, and *that* (says Mr. Higgins) so ably, "that the followers of the Prophet obtained as decided a victory by their pens, as they had

Another view
of an anecdote
given by Mr.
Higgins.

* Apology, p. 60.

"previously done by their arms." Poor Dr. Prideaux himself could not conceal his chagrin. Then, in the strength of this victory over the Christian apologists, Mr. Higgins remarks, with an air of triumph,* "The confidence which the Mohamedans have always shown in the justice of their cause, as a close examination must convince every one, is very remarkable." Close examination into his subject is not, I should say, one of the habits by which Mr. Higgins is distinguished as a writer. In the present instance, very little "close examination" was required to have informed the Apologist, that, of Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabedin it is recorded, he ABJURED MOHAMEDANISM, and died in the Christian faith. The circumstance is mentioned in the supplemental notice to Bayle's article on Philip Guadagnola, in the GENERAL HISTORICAL DICTIONARY. A copy of Ahmed's work was sent to Rome. Urban VIII. who then filled the chair, ordered Dr. Guadagnola, professor of Arabic in that city, to publish a reply. The professor executed his task with so much ability, that the Persian Ahmed, to whom the answer was transmitted, "was so thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, that he renounced the Mohamedan faith, and became a zealous defender of the principles which he had before opposed with the utmost of his abilities." I recommend to Mr. Higgins, when next he visits Rome, to procure a copy of the professor's book, entitled, "*Phil. Guadagnola Apologia pro Christiana Religione contra Ahmed Persam*,"† &c. and to bestow upon it a candid perusal.

* Apology, p. 106.

† Its full title: "Philipp. Guadagnoli *Apologia pro Christianâ Religione,*

"Arabicè et Latinè, adversus objectiones Ahmed E. Zin Alabedini, Asaphensis

That the theoretical tenets of Islamism are held in high estimation by Mr. Higgins is clear from the following extract.

Mohamedanism not Christianity shown from contrasting—secondly, the DOCTRINE of the two systems.

“I recollect” (says he) “no fanaticism or even religion which has not been either clogged with monstrous absurdities, or with extreme complication, or with both. But of all the established religions which I have ever read of, that of Mohamed is at once the most simple and the most philosophical, and in its original purity the least clogged with difficulties of any kind. Nothing can be more simple than its creed or confession of faith—*God is God, and Mohamed is his Prophet*, (i. e. his messenger or preacher, resoul, sent of God.) A man may believe every dogma of every religion in the world, provided he believe nothing contrary to the moral attributes of God, and yet he may be a Mohamedan.”*

It is, of course, competent to Mr. Higgins to express his admiration of Mohamedanism in any language which his zeal for that system may suggest: but when, not satisfied with commending, he presumes to extol the jejune dogmas of the Koran above the illuminating truths of the gospel, I am compelled to say, that either Mr. Higgins is in dangerous error, or mankind have yet to learn what Christianity is. Upon the doctrines which constitute the glory of Christianity, Mohamedanism is wholly silent. The fundamental article of the Moslem creed, it is well known, is the absolute unity of the Deity. The Supreme Being is defined in the Koran to be “the living and self-subsisting one,” with-

“Persæ, comprehensas in Libro inscripto: *Politor Speculi*, quem Persa ille *speculo* “*verum monstranti* opposuerat, atque aureis litteris scriptum miserat ad Pontificem Urbanum VIII. ut responsionem conficiendam curaret.” Rom. MDCLXXXI. 4to.

* Page 103; and compare section 69.

out equal, or companion. His attributes, power, and protecting providence are frequently insisted on with great clearness of language. A necessity, not unlike the fate of the Stoics, is distinctly recognised: according to the Mussulman's creed,—**ALL IS FROM GOD.*** Consequently, evil, not less than good, is ascribed to God as its author,—a doctrine which, in whatever system it obtains, shakes to their foundation both religion and morals. Thus far we have advanced not one step beyond the discoveries of natural reason. The theists of antiquity, Pythagoras, Plato, and others, defined the Deity as the *TO EN*, *the one Being*,—as the *μονοφύς καὶ αὐτοφύς*, *the only and self-subsisting Intelligence*. And if, in the Koran, the principle of the unity is taught in a more didactic manner, with less of argument and disputation, than in the writings of the ancient theists, we are to recollect, that Moses had inculcated the same principle ages before the appearance of Mohamed. His vaunted definition,† *God is one God*, howsoever obtained, came originally from the Jewish Scriptures. On these fundamental points, therefore, the being of God, his nature, and providence, Mohamedanism affords no light beyond what reason had already supplied: while to deprive revelation of its distinguishing truths seems to have been one of its leading objects. It denies the divinity of the Saviour,—it denies the sanctifying Spirit of God. I am aware that the Koran makes favourable mention of Christ in some detached passages, but in the general it rejects him as the mediator between God and man. We have also, in the same book, mention of the influencing power of the “Holy Spirit;”

* Surat 4, p. 70. † Surat 112.

but the term, Holy Spirit, is used in a very different sense from that, in which it is received by Christian divines. Selden has well remarked,—“Tum Judæi, ut
 “videre passim in eorum commentariis, tum Mohame-
 “dani, quod scimus non solum ex Avicennâ, sed ex *ipso*
 “*Alcorano*, Spiritum Sanctum *eodem nomine* cum Chris-
 “tians, sed *diversa notione*, agnoscunt.”* Yet does
 Mr. Higgins, with a strange hardihood of assertion,
 represent Mohamed as having been “a Christian,”—
 “a believer in the divine mission of Christ;”† and
 affirms, that “the religions of Jesus and Mohamed are
 “the same in their original foundation and principle.”
 I fear a sceptical principle is at the bottom of all this:
 the principle I mean is,—that, because the creeds of
 the Deist, the Mohamedan, and the Christian concur
 in inculcating the adoration of a God, therefore, Mr.
 Higgins sophistically concludes, this God of all the
 three is the same God, and that he will be equally pro-
 pitious to their contradictory modes of belief and wor-
 ship;‡ which, in other words, is not only to underrate,
 but virtually to deny that dispensation of providence,
 which God in Holy Scripture has revealed himself as
 carrying on by his Son and Spirit for the salvation of
 our fallen race. It seriously becomes Mr. Higgins, and
 all who entertain like sentiments, to consider what
 consequences may follow the contumacious rejection
 of these essential doctrines, which so peculiarly charac-
 terise that dispensation. I wish I could prevail with
 him to read carefully over the first chapter of the
 second part of Butler’s ANALOGY, bearing strongly

* Tom. II. 432. † Apology p. 86.

‡ Apage hæc paradoxa theologica! qui FILIUM non habent, nec PATREM ha-
 bent.”—Hottinger

on this very point. It was under the impression which the perusal of that chapter left on my mind, that I read with pained feelings the particulars of Mr. Higgins's conversation with the young Egyptian prince, as detailed by himself at the close of his volume. In that conversation he has incurred the responsibility of having treated Christianity with an irreverence rarely surpassed by the professed unbeliever. On reading it, the passage forcibly occurred to me,—“I say unto you, “that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall “give account thereof in the day of judgment:”—“*idle word*,” in the original *ῥῆμα ἄεργον*, *vox inutilis*, h. e. *imprimis perniciosa*, quæ aliis valde obest, eosque in errorem atque perniciem inducit.*

No question in theology is of greater importance than that which relates to the grounds upon which sin can be pardoned, and punishment remitted to offending creatures: until this be resolved upon satisfactory principles, the reflecting mind can have little rest. And what upon this point does Mohamedanism teach likely to meet the views of rational inquiry? Absolutely nothing. “Quid aliud dicit Mahometus,” to speak with Melancthon, “quàm quod ethnicae religiones tradebant? “Nihil affirmat de remissione peccatorum,—evomit blasphemias in Filium Dei,—non docet quid sit peccatum, —non monstrat causas humanarum calamitatum,—“nihil potest dicere de verâ invocatione in fide,—denique, eam doctrinam, quæ propria est evangelii, totam “abjecit.” Repentance is, indeed, mentioned once or twice in the Koran, as availing with God for “those “who do *evil ignorantly*.” But, like other religions of

* Matt. xii. 36. Kuinoel in loc.

the east, it proposes to conciliate the divine favour, chiefly through the means of externals,—by pilgrimages, ablutions, mortification of appetite, and other like exercises, which have, in truth, little or no connexion with piety or virtue, and are often most punctually performed by the greatest hypocrites. Never was the epithet “philosophical” more misapplied than by Mr. Higgins, when he uses it to designate the institution of Mohamed; and should he, in his own person, undertake to reduce its regulations to practice, I predict, that before he has gone through half the circle of its austerities, he will be of the same opinion. Imagine we see Mr. Higgins, “in the hottest period of an Asiatic summer,”* with his frame macerated, and his countenance pale by the effects of the Ramadan, in the act of performing his seven circuits round the Caaba† at Mecca,

* Apology, p. 35.

† CAABA, so called from its quadrangular form. The following account is from Dr. Hyde,—nothing can be clearer or better:—“*Templum Meccanum Arabicè vocatur Caaba, propter cubicam, seu quadratam ejus formam; quo etiam nomine quævis domus major, modo sit quadrata, vocari solet. Hoc olim erat templum idololatricum, ubi ab Arabibus paganis colebatur Al Uza, ea est Venus, et aliud idolum dictum Al Lat. Hodie autem eis tam sacrum, ut versùs illud facies suas inter precandum obvertant Mohamedani omnes, (ut Judæi versùs Hierosolymam,) in quacunq[ue] orbis parte fuerint: unde plaga illa vocatur Kibla, i. e. anterior pars precantium, ad quam ab omni loco et regione inveniendum in libris suis regulas et tabulas de conversione Kiblæ mathematicè calculatas habent. Meccæ autem visitatio solennis suscipitur, tam propter Alcorani præceptum id jubens, tam propter singularem loci sanctitatem, utpote in quo natus est Mohammed, et ibidem prædicavit, et religionis suæ fundamenta jecit; ibique plerasque Alcorani schedas, (sui reliquias,) sparsit: non autem propter ejus sepulchrum, ut vulgò perperam et fabulosè creditur, et quòd ferreo sarcophago inclusus magneticè in tecto pendeat. * * * Meccam visitantes ditiores, dona egregia et pretiosa pro templo et custodibus ejus secum portant, peccatorum veniam et indulgentiam plenariam expectantes, si aliquoties, vel semel tantùm in sacerrimo illo loco preces fuderint.*”—Ex Hydii Not. ad Tractat. Bobovii de Turcarum Liturgiâ. Opuscula, tom. I. p. 269.

BOBOVIUS,—in Polish BOBOWSKI,—called by the Turks ALI BEIGH, himself a

and as he passes each time, stooping in lowly adoration to the "*black stone*" at its south-east corner;—and then

Mohamedan, though born of Christian parents, and Dragoman at the Ottoman Court, composed a short treatise entitled, "*DE TURCARUM LITURGIA, PEREGRINATIONE MECCANA, CIRCUMCISIONE, ÆGROTORUM VISITATIONE,*" &c. This manual of devotion was drawn up at the request of Dr. Thomas Smith, chaplain in 1670 to the embassy at Constantinople. Dr. Smith on his return gave it to his friend Hyde, with the expressed wish, that it might be published. In editing it Hyde has added a few short, but valuable annotations. In 1767 the minor works of Hyde were published together, in two quarto volumes, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, then master of the Temple, who prefixed thirty-four pages of learned prolegomena on the life and writings of his author. Bobovius's Tract is the sixth of the first volume. As his authority is unexceptionable on all points relating to the rites and ceremonies of Mohamedan worship, I abridge from his manual the following account of the procession round the Caaba. On entering Mecca, the first duty of the pilgrim is to make for the celebrated temple, on beholding which he puts up these ejaculations: "*God is great,*"—"there is no God, but God." Before he can approach the famed "*black stone*" within its precincts, from which the Mussulman believes Abraham mounted his camel, he is required to repeat again, in a particular posture, with his hands raised to his ears, the same ejaculatory forms. He is then permitted to kiss the hallowed relic, if he can do so without incommoding his fellow pilgrims: if that be impracticable, it is sufficient to touch it only, or testify, by an inclination of the body, that he is desirous to kiss it, uttering, during the ceremony, prayers for the Prophet of the Faithful. These observances being complied with, he is prepared to commence the famous circum-ambulatory procession. Having adjusted his dress, as ordered in his Liturgy, he takes his start from the right entrance of the gate. He is to encompass the temple seven times. The first *three circuits* he performs in short, quick, paces, "with violent agitations of the shoulders, intimating thereby his readiness to resist the Christians,—"*humeros agitando in manifestationem certaminis contra associat- trices, i. e. Christianos, prompte et alacriter suscipiendi.*" The last four circuits are made in a more measured step: "*gravi passu.*" The Hadjr is required to be particularly mindful, at every round, to pay due honour to the magic stone. Having in this manner gone his seven circuits, and offered to the object of his devotion, so often named, a last salutation, he makes two lowly inclinations of the body toward the Hill, Meka, where the prints of Abraham's footsteps are yet seen; and with these his service, as it respects the procession round the Caaba, is completed. This is Bobovius's account. Now, is it not a dishonouring of reason to say, as Mr. Higgins does say, that a system, which enjoins these and a thousand other equally ridiculous observances, is "*the most simple and most philosophical*" of all religions? Before I close the note, I would remark that there is something melancholy in the history of Bobowski. He was a native of Poland—taken captive when very young by the Tartars, and sold to the Turks. By them he was brought up in the principles of Mohamedanism. He was a very learned man, having made himself master of several

hastening to Medina, there to prostrate himself before the entombed dust of a deluded enthusiast,—should we not believe that our kind-hearted neighbour had actually taken leave of his senses ;—and the more so, should he, on our remonstrating with him upon the folly of his conduct, begin to argue, that he was doing all this, because it would render him an object of the divine approbation ? And yet, in the eyes of the Mussulman, these superstitions are important duties ;—he believes, that should he die under these vagaries, paradise is his certain inheritance. Mr. Higgins may possibly turn upon us, and say, I for my part place no great stress on these performances,—my hope is in my good works,—the final adjudication I know will be regulated by the weight and tale of meritorious doings. “For great
 “merit is ascribed to those who perform good works,
 “contrary to the pernicious dogma of millions of Chris-
 “tians, who hold, as I have often heard from the
 “pulpits, that *merit has nothing to do with salvation.*”*

languages. Alluding to the loss which learning sustained in his death, Dr. Hyde thus expresses himself: “*cujus mors dolenda tum quia nostratibus semper erat
 “amicissimus, et in omnibus officiosissimus, tum quia erat impensissimus linguarum
 “amator, et in eorum multis tam Europæis, quàm Asiaticis versatissimus et
 “peritissimus : unde habitus est dignus qui sub Turcarum Imperatore МОХАМ-
 “МЕДЕ IV. stipendium mereretur ut Tergjumân Bashi, i. e. interpres primarius.*” He was extremely anxious to return into the bosom of the Christian church, but was prevented by death. Dr. Hyde alludes to that dispensation, by which he was removed from the living before he could rejoin the Christian fold, in a manner worthy of his high and solid attainments, and with a feeling how different from that shown by Mr. Higgins, where he affirms with apparent exultation, on some unnamed authority, that Burckhardt, the traveller, died a Mohamedan ;—or, again, in those pages where he records, to his own condemnation, his flippant conversation with the Egyptian prince ! Now observe the feeling of Hyde : “*Maximè autem dolendum est,
 “quod morte præreptus esset, antequam ad Christianismum rediisset ; quod facere
 “ex animo anhelabat, cupiens ut in Angliâ inter Christianos honesto aliquo modo
 “panem lucrari potuisset, et ab infidelium consortio recederet.*”—*Opuscula, tom. I. p. 246.*

* Apology, sect. 81.

With equal wisdom the Koran:—"At the resurrection, "they whose balances shall be heavy with good works "shall be happy, but they whose balances shall be light "are they who shall lose their souls, and shall remain "in hell for ever."* But suppose, and the case may happen, that the balances should settle in *æquilibrium*, what is to be done with such an exact calculator of the preponderancy of good and bad qualities?

—inter quos referendus erit?

Mr. Higgins, I suspect, as little sees the true bearing of Mohamed's *plausible* dogma about good works, as he

* Surat 23, p. 286. In like manner Surat 101 makes the destiny of mortals hang upon the vibrations of the balance:

..... gemina suspendere lance
Ancipitis libræ.

"He, whose balance shall be heavy with good works, shall lead a pleasing life; but "as to him whose balance shall be light, his dwelling shall be the pit of hell." Of the striding dimensions of Mohamed's aerial balance an idea may be formed from the circumstance of one of its scales being described as settling over Paradise, the other over the pit of "burning fire." The office of holding the scales during the process of weighing is assigned to Gabriel. This pendulous machinery Mr. Higgins, like an orthodox Mussulman, must consider a reality, occupying as it does such a prominent place in his "most simple and most philosophical system." Others may be apt to regard it in the light of a poetical fiction. However interpreted, it originally came from the country of IRAN. That it is of Persian birth, Hyde I think satisfactorily establishes in the following passage: "In isto ponte (*judiciali* scil.) constituti sunt duo angeli examinatores, *Mihr* et *Sorûsh*: quorum "ille *Terazu*, trutinam, seu *Mizan*, i. e. bilancem secum in manu habet, ut possit "examinare hominum bona opera, seu merita; ut si nimis levia sint, a ponte de- "jecti immergantur in Gehennam; si verò graviora et ponderosa, tum per præ- "dictum pontem transeant in Paradisum. * * * * * Ille, inquam, in ponte "bona ac mala opera trutinat, utrum horum præponderet, et quid de defunctorum "animabus illac pertransuentibus statuendum sit perpendit: atque ex trutinâ dis- "cernens, Deo renuntiat. Et hoc modo judicium præparatum defertur ad Deum, "qui secundum istam trutationem de dictis animabus discernit, (per angelos "examinatores,) ut scil. *ψυχαστάλος* ἤχῳ eos vel in æternam felicitatem evehat, vel "in æternam miseriam præcipitat." De Rel. Vet. Persarum, p. 410, 411. In this allegorical representation of divine justice we see where Mohamed got his scales of

did the drift of the preaching, which he so rashly impugns. The dogma, strict as it seems, is subversive of

judgment, understood in the literal acceptance by the first Mussulmans, and still so, as Sale states, by the more orthodox among them; and in that consists its absurdity. To the same story, found in the Zendavesta, and therefore as old as Zoroaster, or Zera-tusht, who lived according to Suidas five hundred years before the Trojan war, we are to refer, I am persuaded, that curious doctrine among the ancient Greeks of the *ψυχοστασία*, i. e. animarum bilanci impositarum ponderatio. It presented a tempting figure to their lively imaginations. Æschylus, as Plutarch informs us, wrote a tragedy entitled the *ψυχοστασία*, in which was represented the weighing of the souls of Achilles and Memnon. Not a fragment of this piece, as far as is known, remains. Homer, before Æschylus lived, had introduced the *ψυχοστασία* into his immortal poem, in the passage familiar to every scholar:

Καὶ τότε δὴ χρέσεια πατὴρ ἐτίτανε τάλαντα
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε πανηγυγέος θανάτω,
 Τὴν μὲν, Ἀχιλλῆος, τὴν δ', Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο
 Ἔλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβῶν· ῥέπε δ' Ἑκτορος αἶσιμον ἦμαρ.
 Ὡχέτο δ' εἰς αἶδα· λίπεν δὲ ἑ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Il. χ. 209.

Virgil had it from Homer: he has introduced it into his twelfth book, where the fates of Turnus and Æneas are weighed:

Juppiter ipse duas æquato examine lances
 Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum;
 Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere letum.

Æn. XII. 725.

Milton, in the use of the same figure, has improved upon both; he has introduced it for the purpose of breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan. Satan only is weighed:

Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
 Hung forth in heaven his golden scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,
 Wherein all things created first he weighed,
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
 Battles and realms: in these he put two weights,
 The sequel each of parting and of fight:
 The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam.

Parad. Lost, IV. 996.

On this not common subject I refer the curious reader to Winckelmann, vol. II. plate xii. where he will find a representation of the *ψυχοστασία*, from an ancient Etruscan patera. A copy of this drawing forms the head-piece to the Twelfth Æneid, in the UNRIVALLED Leipsic edition of Virgil by Heyne, 6 vols. 8vo. 1800. Winckelmann thought the piece referred to the passage above given from Homer: Heyne with

morality. Persons acting under its influence may commit offences with security, so long as, by an excess of good works, they keep their balances drawing, though ever so little, on the right side. The meritorious efficacy of human righteousness toward securing salvation, whether taught by Mohamedan or Christian, is a doctrine which leads to pharisaism and licentiousness, and stands opposed to the very beginnings of true holiness. Bishop Copleston, whom no one who knows his mind or character will suspect of Antinomianism, has a passage in the last of his "Four Discourses on Necessity and Predestination," which affords so admirable a corrective to Mr. Higgins's views, that I hesitate not to lay it before my readers. Speaking of the self-righteous character, Dr. Copleston observes—

"He cannot bear to be told that his nature is a corrupt, a fallen, a sinful nature: that the carnal or in other words the natural mind is at enmity with God: that if he seeks to be reconciled with God, he must seek it alone through the merits of a Redeemer. To him, not to his own doings, however diligently he may labour in the regulation of his own mind, or in the service of his fellow-creatures, to his Saviour he must refer the whole merit and the whole efficacy of his salvation. The Saviour hath said, 'that he came

Lanzius rather considers it as meant to give the subject of the lost play of Æschylus; the weighing the souls of Achilles and Memnon. Mercury is the person holding the balance: two little obscure forms (*icunculæ*) are placed, one in each scale. The names inscribed in ancient Greek or Etruscan characters are *Turms*, (Hermes, Mercury,) *Achle*, Achilles: the other scale is marked *efas*, (from ἑως, *hêws*, with the digamma,) i. e. Memnon, called also *êws*. Apollo, *Aplu*, an enemy to Achilles, is present, and seemingly threatening Mercury the weigher. Critics have doubted whether the *Psychostasia* was an invention of Æschylus: there can be no doubt of its having come into Greece from Persia and the east by way of Ionia.—See Heyne's Note on Iliad χ. 209.

“to seek them that were lost.’ And every man who would
 “be his disciple, let him be the wisest and the most virtuous
 “of men, must believe that he himself was one of those lost
 “creatures whom Christ came to save. He must not only
 “acknowledge with his lips, but in his heart he must feel,
 “that in the sight of God his best deeds are nothing worth—
 “that however they may tend, as they certainly will tend, to
 “make him happier upon earth, they have no power what-
 “ever to raise him to heaven.

“Nay more than this, if he trust to himself, if he indulge
 “himself in setting a value before God upon any thing that
 “he does, those very deeds will be the instrumental cause of
 “his ruin: they will lead him *from* that gate through which
 “alone he can enter, and will carry him farther and farther in
 “a wrong direction. His good works will never bring him
 “to Christ, but if he lay hold of Christ in sincerity of faith,
 “He will easily and quickly bring him to good works. He is
 “the way, the truth, and the life. He is emphatically called
 “the door of the kingdom of heaven. No man cometh to the
 “Father but by him. If then there be in any man’s breast
 “a secret longing after self-righteousness—if there be a dis-
 “position, however faint, to justify himself by his own per-
 “formance—any lurking conceit that he, being so much
 “better than others, stands less in need of that atoning merit
 “than the worst of his fellow-creatures, let not such an one
 “think that he will receive any thing from the Lord. He
 “may perhaps upon examination find that he has exercised
 “himself in doing what he thinks his duty—that he has
 “abstained from excess—that he has dealt justly, and worked
 “diligently for the good of mankind—that he has even prac-
 “tised many of those virtues which are most truly Christian
 “—that he has been kind, patient, humble, charitable, meek,
 “forgiving—yet if his heart be a stranger to God, giving its
 “affections not to things above but to things on the earth—if
 “he suffer it to plead any one of these services as entitled to
 “reward from God, or as fit even to bear his inspection, he is

“still in his sins—he will be left to wander on according to his own wayward fancies, and will never find the gate of salvation.

“Such was of old the pharisaical pride which provoked the severe rebuke of our Saviour: ‘Verily I say unto you, Even the publicans and the harlots enter into the kingdom of God before you.’ (Matt. xxi. 31.) The case of gross sinners is less desperate than yours. It is possible *they* may be brought to a sense of their wretchedness, and may throw themselves upon the only refuge that is open to them—but you who do not only neglect this help, but who wilfully betake yourselves to another, are altogether without hope. Ye shall die in your sins. Be your deeds what they may in the sight of men—be they just, upright, benevolent, liberal, humane, while they spring from a corrupt and unregenerate source they cannot please God. For without faith it is impossible to please him—and without holiness no man shall see the Lord.”*

* “An Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination, in four Discourses preached before the University of Oxford. With notes and an Appendix on the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England.” London. 1821.

All who are wishful to avoid common and dangerous error on those high subjects—predestination—the divine decrees—the natural powers of the human will, would do well to read over, not once only or cursorily, but often and with collected minds these admirable discourses. I know of no volume in which the character of the acute metaphysician is so happily blended with that of the Christian divine. The style is extremely simple, yet classical and refined in a high degree, forming a model of exact and perspicuous writing. An Appendix is added, intended to show, that there is no foundation for the opinion prevalent in some quarters, that the doctrines of our church are Calvinistic. The perusal of this short Appendix tended more to settle my mind upon this subject than volumes of controversial learning had previously done. Now that Dr. Copleston has attained the dignity and leisure of episcopal elevation, I trust he will not forget to redeem the promise given at the close of his preface; where, after remarking upon the equivocal use of words as being one great source of error among men, and on the consequent necessity there is, in inquiries of a metaphysical kind more particularly, of always attending to the precise meaning of terms and expressions made use of, he goes on to say,—“If this method were rigidly pursued with all the terms most commonly employed in abstract reasoning, it would tend to abridge many a useless and to

Where Mr. Higgins heard his Antinomian doctrines I know not: I certainly never yet have heard the preacher who did not maintain the necessity of good works. One, viewing Christianity in its most extended relations, insists in his preaching upon the commands and duties, on repentance, faith, and obedience, but for moral ability inculcating a constant dependence on the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Another, regarding the gospel dispensation as an act of free mercy to sinners, urges in his preaching the necessity of flying to Christ by faith, dwells often on the great love of Christ in the work of human redemption, upon the value and efficacy of his atonement; and by such representations endeavours to awaken the love of holiness, more from a feeling of gratitude and love to the Saviour, than in the way of formal obedience to the divine commands. This, in Mr. Higgins's view, would be the preacher of faith, irrespectively of good works: and he would be more confirmed in such judgment when he heard, that however indispensable personal holiness was to salvation, yet it was not the cause of it: happiness and eternal life we must and only can have through the redemption that is in Christ: his merits must be our justifying righteousness in the sight of God. And this, whatever Mr. Higgins may think, is the only safe foundation.

"settle many a mischievous controversy. It is the key to a thousand errors which
 "have abused mankind under the false name of philosophy: and nothing I believe
 "would tend more to the advancement of knowledge than such an inquiry into the
 "use of words: because the same vigour of mind which is now often strained and
 "baffled in contending with imaginary difficulties, would then be exerted in a right
 "direction, or at least would not be spent in vain. Somewhat of this *kind I hope*
 "*hereafter to be able to execute*, not however without apprehension of incurring
 "the displeasure of those, who, if my speculations are well founded, will appear to
 "have lost their time in logomachy, and to have wasted their strength in endea-
 "vouring to grasp a phantom, or in fighting the air."—Preface, page xvi.

The atonement lies at the basis of Christianity. The hope which has eternity for its object is exclusively a Christian feeling; and that is from what Christ hath done and suffered for offending man. By his interference in our behalf, by uniting himself with our nature, by passing through a life of suffering, and laying down that life on the cross, Christ became our propitiation, and the author of life and happiness to all who receive him. "Having been made perfect through sufferings, he became the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him." I am aware untenable theories in regard to the atonement have been constructed by fanciful writers;—with these I have nothing to do. On this high subject I agree with Bishop Butler.

"Some" (says he) "have endeavoured to explain the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, beyond what the scripture has authorised. Others, probably, because they could not explain it, have been for taking it away, and confining his office as redeemer of the world, to his instruction, example, and government of the church. Whereas the doctrine of the gospel appears to be, not only that he taught the efficacy of repentance, but rendered it of efficacy, which it is by what he did and suffered for us; that he obtained for us the benefit of having our repentance accepted to eternal life, &c. How and in what particular way it had this efficacy, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain; but I do not find that the scriptures have explained it. It is our wisdom thankfully to accept the benefit, without disputing how it was procured."*

* Analogy, part II. chap. 5.

Mr. Higgins will call this preaching: he is at liberty to do so: I state these things from a sincere wish to point his attention to a more excellent way than the one which he has unhappily chosen. But whatever be the effects of my remarks on *his* mind, I humbly trust they may lead other readers to pause, before they surrender the solid consolations of the gospel either to the objections of the avowed unbeliever, or to the quibbling sophistry of the lovers of paradox.

Under the fourth general head I engaged to offer some remarks on the pretensions of Mr. Higgins to the character of a biblical critic. This character he assumes with no ordinary confidence in that part of his publication, where he describes the coming of Mohamed as an event foretold in the prophetic scriptures. I have perused those pages with attention and candour, but have found few authentic evidences of competency: the learning displayed is of a kind not to inspire confidence; and the explanations given are of little value, because unsupported by proof. The spirit which he manifests through the discussion is rather that of an advocate for imbibed opinions, than of one whose wish it is to rectify error, and establish truth. We often meet the caviller, where we were expecting the critic and the scholar. An habitual disposition to undervalue the canonical scriptures pervades all Mr. Higgins's lucubrations,—a disposition, that in no slight degree disqualifies him for the duty of impartial and manly criticism. It is from the misleading influence of this feeling, that he so eagerly lays hold of any apocryphal absurdity which comes in his way, magnifies its claims, and attaches to it undue importance; while to facts and

Fourth Head.

Mr. Higgins's claims to the character of a biblical critic examined.

arguments of an opposite kind, which establish the authenticity of the sacred code, his eyes are closed,—he can discover in them neither relevancy nor force. If a Christian writer is complimented, it is for some opinion or statement which the Apologist can turn to a sceptical purpose. Thus, by laying hold of a detached expression, without reference to the context, Parkhurst is represented as favouring the notion of Mohamed having been foretold by name in the sacred writings:* while Bishop Marsh is honoured by the epithets “learned and “venerable,” because, in a note on the signification of *παράκλητος*, he has left to the theological student the choice of three interpretations of that word. From this variety of explication, Mr. Higgins deduces the ominous inference, “it is hence very evident that great “uncertainty and doubt hang over the meaning of this “celebrated word, and of the nature of this messenger “which Jesus had promised to send. This I think “cannot be denied.”† The above, I am aware, are strong allegations: if in the sequel I fail to make them good, I shall regret having used them: if I succeed in proving their truth, the importance of the subject will be my justification. Much I am willing to concede to courtesy,—much to former recollections:—I cannot concede the truth.

That Mr. Higgins may have no cause of complaint on the ground of unfairness, I here subjoin in full those passages of Holy Scripture, which he explains as announcing the coming of the Arabian.

DEUT. xviii. 15. “The Lord thy God will raise up “unto thee a PROPHET from the midst of thy brethren,

* Apology, p. 80. † Apology, p. 77.

“like unto me, unto him ye shall hearken.”—Of course this prophecy, upon Mr. Higgins’s scheme, has no reference to the Christian Redeemer; it was accomplished in the person of Mohamed.

HAGGAI ii. 7. “And I will shake all nations, and **THE DESIRE** of all nations shall come, and I will fill “this house with glory.”—The noun “*ahmed*” in the original, here translated, *the desire*, we are told by the Apologist is an appellative of Mohamed, and then in the character of a votary (for I cannot allow Mr. Higgins the figure *prosopopœia*) he thus comments on the prophecy: “here you see that Mohamed was actually “foretold by name in the Old Testament,—that the application of this prophecy to Jesus Christ has in fact “been a mistake: it was intended as the name shows “for the person sent by Jesus himself to complete his “mission, and referred to by him in the word *επαγγελίαν*, “Luke xxiv. 49. And for this I have the authority of “your own very celebrated divine, Parkhurst. That it “was meant for Mohamed and not for Jesus, or the “Holy Ghost, the Holy Spirit, or a divine influence, is “evident, because it foretells the former by name. No “Mohamedan corruption of a text can be pretended “here.”*

ST. JOHN’S GOSPEL, xiv. 16, 17. “I will pray the “Father, and he shall give you another COMFORTER, “that he may abide with you for ever: even the spirit “of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it “seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know

* Apology, p. 80.

"him, for he dwelleth with you and shall be in you." Also chapters xv. 26, and xvi. 7.—By the word "Comforter," *παράκλητος*, in these passages, says Mr. Higgins, is not meant, as Christian divines have represented, the Holy Spirit of God: Mohamed was the person pointed to: the promise was fulfilled in Him. The merit of the discovery does not, however, rest with the Apologist. Toland, the deist, in his *NAZARENUS*,* had led the way, and to follow in his track was easy.

* Its full title, "NAZARENUS: or, the Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity. Containing the History of the ancient Gospel of Barnabas, and the modern Gospel of the Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle, this last Gospel being now first made known among Christians. Also, the original Plan of Christianity occasionally explained in the History of the Nazarenes, whereby divers Controversies about this divine, but highly perverted Institution, may be happily terminated. With the relation of the Irish Manuscript of the four Gospels; as likewise a Summary of the ancient Irish Christianity, and the reality of the Keldees (an order of Lay-religious) against the two last Bishops of Worcester. By Mr. Toland.

"Intacta et nova? graves offensas, levis gratia."

Plin. lib. v. epist. 8.

"Ast ego cœlicolis gratum reor ire per omnes,

"Hoc opus et sacras populis notescere leges."

Luc. lib. x. v. 197.

"London, 1718."

The two Bishops of Worcester, alluded to in this modest and unpretending title, were Doctors Stillingfleet and Lloyd. Burnet (*Own Times*, vol. II. p. 223) speaking of the proceedings of Convocation (1701) against "*Christianity not Mysteries*," another of this author's publications, describes it, "as wrote by one *Toland*, a man of bold and petulant wit, who passed for a *Socinian*, but was believed to be a man of no religion." With persons of loose and sceptical principles Toland in his day was a great authority. Fame derived only from singularity of opinions commonly proves a fleeting possession: the works of this vain-glorious writer are little known in the present age, and less regarded. Yet Toland was a man of strong natural abilities, and had a mind stored with various knowledge,—but it was ill-digested knowledge, and a great portion of it of a mischievous character. By the show of multifarious erudition, he secured the applause and excited the wonder of the half-educated and unthinking; but could not succeed in gaining the approbation of men of accurate learning and exact judgment. According to the representation given in his boastful *EPITAPH*, composed by himself, he was acquainted with several languages,—"*linguarum plus decem sciens*,"—but it is

As the greatest display of critical skill in the Apology is put forth on the point,—to establish the claim of Mohamed to be the Paraclete of St. John,—I shall begin with it, and go somewhat fully into the subject. The investigation will furnish us with a test by which we may appreciate the nature of Mr. Higgins's pretensions to be viewed in the light of a critic and interpreter of the sacred oracles. I must previously advert in a few words to a difficulty which here meets us in the outset. If, on the authority of the above passages, interpreted on Mr. Higgins's own scheme, we are to believe, that the coming of Mohamed was pre-ordained, and the part he was to act distinctly marked out in prophecy, with what consistency can he assert,—as he has asserted,*—“that Mohamedanism was the child, “not of preconcerted design, but of accident and circumstance ;” altogether contingent in its origin? I

A metaphysic difficulty in the Apology points out.

evident from his works, that he was a CRITIC in none. His diction, low and confused, betrays more of the smatterer than of the adept in philological attainments. He was fond of controversy; it was the element in which he lived; and the aim in all his publications was one and undivided—to bring revelation into discredit. No matter what the subject was which employed his pugnacious pen, his impious purpose was always the same. If he wrote the life of Milton, biography in his hands became the vehicle of insidious remarks upon the canon of Scripture. If he treated on the history of the Jews, it was only to prove that Strabo, the geographer, was better authority than Moses in what respected the origin of that ancient people. For the purpose of weakening faith in the inspired Scriptures, he was always arraigning the integrity of the sacred text. The Fathers and early writers of the Christian church were the objects of his continual abuse,—they were denounced as superstitious—ignorant—and incapable of discriminating between what books were *genuine* and what *spurious*. Possessing a large share of vanity, he always pretended he had proved whatever opinions he advocated; the judgment, on the other side, of the greatest men both of ancient and modern times going with him for nothing. Such was Toland.

The fullest account of his life and writings will be found in the “Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, pour servir de Supplément au Dictionnaire de Bayle, par Jacques Georges de Chauffepié.” Amsterdam, 1750. 4 vols. folio.

* Apology, p. 104.

should have supposed, that whatever was foretold by the Deity, must certainly and infallibly come to pass: and that, in respect to such events and the actors in them, it cannot be correct to say, they originate in contingency. A sounder theology and better logic teach, that what God has spoken, he will do. "Hath the Lord spoken, and shall he not make it good?" I leave to Mr. Higgins to explain how a thing can be "pre-ordained," and at the same time contingent. These surely are not the metaphysics of the celebrated Mr. Locke, on occasion so familiarly referred to in the Apology.

No satisfactory evidence that a gospel according to Barnabas ever existed.

To make good Mohamed's claim to be the Paraclete of the New Testament, great stress is laid upon a passage, said to have been in a supposed apocryphal gospel, called the Gospel of Barnabas. Of this gospel Mr. Higgins every where talks with the confidence of a person who had seen it. From it Mohamed is said to have mostly quoted in the Koran. The passage alluded to, which the Mohamedans say was expunged by the Christians, is as follows:—"And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed."* Mr. Higgins takes upon himself to assert, that the Gospel of Barnabas had a wide circulation in the East,—that it was received by multitudes of Christians in the East before the time of Mohamed,—and that copies are common in Mohamedan countries.† On this point he exults not a little,—and

* Apology, p. 79. † Apology, p. 90.

challenges the "Christian priests" to produce a single manuscript copy of this gospel, in which these passages (the one quoted above, and others of like import, I presume) are not found. To rebut the charge of the passage having been forged by the Mohamedans, Mr. Higgins observes, that if so, it would be "unaccountable how, on the revival of letters, the Romish priests should not have discovered some old manuscripts in Greek, in Arabic, Syriac, or Coptic, in which the passages alluded to were wanting." Now all this parade about finding manuscripts in Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, sounds very learnedly: it is, after all, *vox et præterea nihil*: "sound and fury signifying nothing." No such gospel as the one, which Mr. Higgins talks so much of, and so profoundly, and on which he grounds his main argument for Mohamed being the Paraclete, ever existed. Let the Apologist inform us, in what Christian writer of the first four centuries mention of it is found. The second century was the age for forging apocryphal books: but not a word occurs in any writer of that period, about a gospel under the name of Barnabas. Jerome has not a syllable about it. Epiphanius is equally silent. And what is yet more remarkable, even the Manichæans, that "*rich, splendid, and learned sect*,"* though flourishing in the East, in the very countries where copies of this gospel (so Mr. Higgins tells us) abounded, seem to have known nothing whatever relating to it. Vestiges of the canonical gospels are found in the writings of the Manichees, but not a single sentence, in approbation or condemnation of this supposed ancient gospel, has ever, to this day, been

* Apology, p. 81.

pointed out. Securely, therefore, may Mr. Higgins challenge "the Christian priests" to produce copies, whether with or without the *important* verse. But is he so little read in this controversy, as not to know that "the Christian priests" have thrown back the challenge, and called upon the Mohamedans and their advocates to bring to light a copy of this gospel, containing the supposed expunged passage? The challenge has been repeatedly given, but never accepted. If Mr. Higgins has never seen one of these challenges, I present him with that given by Hottinger,* who, in referring to the verse in question, intimates that not a vestige of it is any where to be found. "Excusant omnes totius orbis forulos, conferant primæ, mediæ, ultimæ ætatis N. T. ἀὐτὸγραφα, ἀπογραφα, translationes, et vel leve manifestæ hujus in Deum et Christum ejus blasphemie vestigium ostendant:" i. e. "*Let them search out every library in the world, compare all the originals, transcripts, versions of the New Testament, of the first, middle, and last ages, and produce, if they can, the slightest vestige of such a manifest blasphemy against God and his Christ!*" When Mr. Higgins has done this, he may, with some reason, resume the

* Historia Orientalis, p. 10. "Mahumedanorum religio, ejusque notitia est petenda ex J. Henr. Hottingeri bibliotheca (*historia*) orientali."—Morhoff, tom. II. p. 542. The work here quoted and referred to by Morhoff is one of great learning and research: and contains valuable information upon every subject connected with Mohamed and his religion. "No man," it has been observed, "was better qualified to write on oriental affairs than Hottinger, as he was skilled in most of the languages which were anciently, as well as at present, spoke in the East, viz. the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Coptic languages."

HISTORIA ORIENTALIS: quæ ex variis orientalium monumentis collecta, agit—

I. De MUHAMMEDISMO, ejusque causis tum procreantibus, tum conservantibus: imprimis, de Muhammede ejus Majoribus, Parentibus, Patriâ, Nativitate,

subject of Barnabas's Gospel, and reiterate his charge against "the Christian priests."

I am no stranger to the decree of Gelasius, made in the fifth century. "THE GOSPEL UNDER THE NAME OF BARNABAS IS APOCRYPHAL."* This decree is almost the only evidence appealed to, that this Gospel ever was extant. The decree, as Mr. Higgins may satisfy himself, when he next visits Rome, exists, I believe, in a very imperfect state. Bishop Pearson has at once pronounced it spurious. Fabricius, in his Codex, obviously inclines the same way. "Gelasii decretum prætereo, quin totum illud *parum accuratum* mihi videtur, neque scriptum ab eo, qui libros singulos quos damnat, inspexerit."† The authenticity of this decree being untenable, there remains little evidence worth regarding of such a gospel having ever existed. I know there is a modern document of this kind, which bears the title of the "Gospel of Barnabas." As the history of this production is curious, I

Educatione, Pseudoprophetiâ, Æmulis, Dogmatibus, Hegirâ, Præliis, Successoribus, Morte.

II. De SARACENISMO, seu Religione veterum Arabum.

III. De CHALDAISMO, seu Superstitione Nabatæorum, Chaldæorum, Charranæorum, &c.

IV. De STATU CHRISTIANORUM et JUDÆORUM, tempore orti et nati Muhammedismi.

V. De VARIIS inter ipsos Muhammedanos circa Religionis Dogmata et Administrationem, SENTENTIIS, SCHISMATIS HÆRESIBUS excitatis.

VI. Accessit, ex Occasione Geneologiæ Muhammedis, plenior Illustratio TAARICH BENE ADAM, quâ, ex ipsis Arabum scriptis, Vitæ et res gestæ Prophetarum, Patriarcharum, quorundam etiam Apostolorum, Regum Persiæ, aliorumque ab Adamo ad Muhammedis usque natales in orbe degentium, et regentium, explicantur. Auctore Joh. Hen. Hottingero. Tiguri, 1651.

* See Jones on the Canon of the New Testament, vol. I. p. 139.

† Page 154.

shall briefly state it. A gentleman of some note, who had settled at Amsterdam, possessed the only copy hitherto known of this pretended gospel. Of its history, when and where written, he knew nothing; but attached to it an extravagant value. On his decease, it became the property of one Mr. Cramer: it was through his permission that Toland, who happened at that time to be abroad, was allowed to inspect it. Cramer afterwards (1713) presented it, with the following Latin Dedication, to the celebrated Prince Eugene, in whose library it afterwards continued:

SERENISSIMO SABAUDIÆ PRINCIPI
EUGENIO.

Heroui invicto, Musarum Herculi

Evangelium Mahumedanum, quod Barnabæ nomen præ se fert, in Italicum sermonem, compluribus abhinc sæculis, uti characteris ductus et vetustæ orthographiæ ratio ostendit, conversum: quod evangelium, sive Arabice, sive alia lingua, et siquis conjecturæ locus est, a SERGIO Monacho Nestoriano, uno e tribus illis ALGORANI architectis, compositum, adhuc videre nemini Christianorum licuit: quamvis hi illud perquirere et inspicere omni ope niterentur, ut tandem ejusmodi evangelium, quo Mahomedani tantopere gloriantur, ne existere quidem suspicari cœperint: hunc, inquam, codicem, manu satis eleganti exaratum, et, sicuti constat, unicum, ut esset Bibliothecæ, quam PRINCEPS INCOMPARABILIS libris rarissimis, seu typis seu manu descriptis refertissimam, construendam suscepit, non postremum ornamentum, et simul suæ in immortale MAXIMI HEROIS nomen perpetuæ obser-

challenges the "Christian priests" to produce a single manuscript copy of this gospel, in which these passages (the one quoted above, and others of like import, I presume) are not found. To rebut the charge of the passage having been forged by the Mohamedans, Mr. Higgins observes, that if so, it would be "unaccountable how, on the revival of letters, the Romish priests should not have discovered some old manuscripts in Greek, in Arabic, Syriac, or Coptic, in which the passages alluded to were wanting." Now all this parade about finding manuscripts in Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, sounds very learnedly: it is, after all, *vox et præterea nihil*: "sound and fury signifying nothing." No such gospel as the one, which Mr. Higgins talks so much of, and so profoundly, and on which he grounds his main argument for Mohamed being the Paraclete, ever existed. Let the Apologist inform us, in what Christian writer of the first four centuries mention of it is found. The second century was the age for forging apocryphal books: but not a word occurs in any writer of that period, about a gospel under the name of Barnabas. Jerome has not a syllable about it. Epiphanius is equally silent. And what is yet more remarkable, even the Manichæans, that "*rich, splendid, and learned sect*,"* though flourishing in the East, in the very countries where copies of this gospel (so Mr. Higgins tells us) abounded, seem to have known nothing whatever relating to it. Vestiges of the canonical gospels are found in the writings of the Manichees, but not a single sentence in approbation or condemnation of this supposed ancient gospel, has ever, to this day, been

* Apology, p. 81.

Mohamedans; but he convinced nobody, nor was he convinced himself, as should appear from the following passage in the appendix to his "Nazarenes," &c. where, giving directions to persons who might visit Turkey, he says, "you are particularly desired to inquire after the "Gospel of Barnabas: and if you should happen to "meet with this book, you are diligently to inquire, "whether they acknowledge it as divine—whether it be "the only gospel they admit." Toland himself, therefore, had not come to any certainty even on the point, whether the Mohamedans admitted this *yesterday-gospel*. Having perused the extracts from it given in Jones, I fully concur with that learned writer: "I believe," (says he) "every impartial reader, upon a bare view of "these fragments, will be soon persuaded to conclude "this some late Mohamedan forgery, and therefore "could not be the gospel under Barnabas's name, which "is rejected by Pope Gelasius; nor need I make any "further remarks upon it, or Mr. Toland's unfair conclusions from it."*

I have dwelt the longer on this point for two reasons,—first, because, the above particulars may be new to several of my readers: and secondly and principally because, by showing, that there is no satisfactory evidence for believing that there ever was a gospel under the name of Barnabas, is cut up by the roots the main proof, on which Mr. Higgins has relied to make out his position, that Mohamed was the true Paraclete.

Mr. Higgins's
opinion on the
PARACLETE un-
tenable.

Having disposed of Mr. Higgins's apocryphal gospel, his notions about the "celebrated" word Paraclete shall

* On the Canon, vol. I. p. 150.

next be considered. Here was an inviting field for the display of his critical powers, and accordingly connected with it we have strong assertions about "original readings," "corrupting of texts," "falsification of manuscripts," &c. &c. calculated to strike common readers, and beguile them into the belief, that they are following in the wake of a learned conductor. Our confidence, however, is presently shaken, if not entirely destroyed, by one of the most infelicitous attempts at translation ever made. In the Latin Vulgate, as my readers may know, the original word, παράκλητος, is preserved in a latinized form, with the only difference of its being written with an iota in the penultima: the term in this ancient version is *paracletus*, and not, as in the Greek, *paracletus*. This for Mr. Higgins is a lucky incident, and he proceeds with inauspicious temerity to deduce the inference, that the copy from which Jerome translated must have had, not παράκλητος, as our present books have, but παράκλητος,* adding, as his reason for thinking so, that the latter word signifies "illustrious," or an "illustrious person," and in meaning is nearly synonymous with the Arabic, *Mohamed*! To enable Mr. Higgins to judge himself of the error into which he has here fallen, I need only desire him,—it is repeating his own advice to others,—to turn over the pages of his Scapula. He will there find that παράκλητος means the opposite of "illustrious," "renowned," &c. and is explained by "*infamis*," "*famosus*."—Opp. τῷ κλυτός. (Steph.) With all his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Syro-Chaldee, it is unfortunate that he should have so completely overlooked the force of the prepo-

* Apology, sect. 165, 171, and 173. Mr. Higgins flounders strangely between the words παράκλητος and παράκλητος.

sition παρά in composition. “παρά in compositione,” to speak with grammarians, “significat deminutionem,”—has a diminishing, lessening power: as for example,—the verb φρονεῖν means, *sapere, to be wise, to discriminate correctly with respect to objects which engage the attention*; while its compound, παραφρονεῖν, on the contrary, signifies *desipere, to be foolish, to err, not to discern things clearly and accurately*. In this sense it occurs in Demosthenes: οὗτος δὲ πῶς οὐ καταφανῶς μαίνεται καὶ ΠΑΡΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ, τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτῷ βουλευόμενος;—Now, by applying this use of παρά to the word in question, Mr. Higgins will at once perceive, how totally he has misunderstood its meaning. After this, some of my readers will probably exclaim—

..... Ohe

Jam satis est.

But let us proceed. Mr. Higgins is certainly correct in stating that St. Jerome, in the Vulgate version, has rendered the original by the Latin word *paraclitus* instead of *paracletus*.* Nor is it difficult to account how the ι (iota) came to be substituted for the η (eta.) It is known to those who have made the pronunciation of Greek a subject of attention, that the letter η and the diphthong ει were, in the latter period of the Roman empire more especially, enounced with the power of ι (iota.) Wetstein has proved that the practice of giving to η and ει the sound of the iota, obtained particularly at Constantinople. On this principle of pronunciation, a Byzantine would read the first seven lines of Homer as nearly written thus:—

Μῖνιν αἰδεῖ, Θεα, Πίληιαδ' Ἀχιλῆος

Οὐλόμινιν, ἰ μιγί! Ἀχῆϊς ἀλγυ' εἴθικε,

* Apology, p. 79.

Πολλας δ' ἰφθιμους ψυχας αἰδὶ προΐαψεν
 Ἰρων, αὐτους δ' ἰλορια τευχε κινεσσι·
 Ἰωνισι τε πασι· Διος δ' ἐτελειτο βουλι·
 Εξ οὐ δι τα πρῶτα διαστιτιν ερισαντε
 Ατρειδis τε αναξ ανδρων, κῆ διος Αχιλλευσ.*

In further confirmation, I may refer to an anecdote in Vossius, which is directly in point. A Greek ecclesiastic visited Haimo, Bishop of Haberstad, who died A. D. 853. During his stay, it fell out that he had to read the gospel in which the word Paraclete occurred, and which he pronounced according to the orthography of Jerome. In a conversation which arose on the subject, he observed, that he was perfectly aware, the word in the Greek Testament was *παράκλητος*, and ought, in strict correctness, to be pronounced with the penultima long, but, adding at the same time, I do not like to innovate, or depart from common practice. So inveterate a thing, remarks Vossius, is established error! The use of the *iotacismus*, I think, satisfactorily accounts for the substitution of the *iota* for the *eta*,—and renders the loose and precarious application of Mr. Higgins's Chaldee *jod* unnecessary.† Without admitting, which I do not, *PRAKLITA* to be Chaldee, I may observe, that were Mr. Higgins's principle of deciphering all words of a foreign growth letter by letter as they existed in their original dialect reduced to practice, it would disturb the orthography of all the languages in the world: nor would any suffer from so wild an experiment more than our own.

To account for the *iota* in *paracritus*, which occupies the place of a long vowel, being pronounced short, we

* See Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. II. p. 140. † Apology, p. 78.

must have recourse to what later grammarians have called *accentual quantity*. The practice of making accent the guide to quantity obtained, it is known, among the Romans pretty generally before the time of Jerome. In compound nouns in particular the accent was drawn back without regard to the penultimate, whether it was long or not. Under this practice it happened, that in several words of this description the penultimate syllable, though long by nature, was shortened. The poet Prudentius, nearly contemporary with Jerome, uses the word *paracletus* twice,* and in both instances with the *i* short, precisely as written and most probably pronounced by the Latin Father. We find in Prudentius other instances in which the principle of accent has regulated quantity. Thus we have *erēmus*, from ἔρημος, and *mathēsis*, from μάθησις.

In the beautiful edition of the Vulgate, which has lately proceeded from Didot's press, and which in future will be the standard text of France, the word, I observe, is printed in its correct form, "paracletus."

Mr. Higgins affirms, that he has the authority of Bishop Marsh for considering the word under examination as Syro-Chaldaic, or else a derivative from an Arabic root. I find nothing in Marsh to bear out the Apologist in this assertion, nor can I believe, that *that* discerning critic has advanced any thing corroborative of such a notion. The term is unquestionably of *Greek origin*; and is formed from the third person singular of the *passive preterite* of παρακαλεμαι. It belongs to that class of words, called by grammarians *VERBALS*. From the time when the Greeks under Alexander overran

* Cathemer. Hymn V. v. 160. Peristeph. Hymn X. v. 430.

Western Asia, and reduced a great part of Syria under their dominion, several oriental phrases found their way into the Greek tongue, while not a few Greek words passed into the eastern dialects, and from subsequent intercourse became gradually naturalized. Παράκλητος was one of these. By the omission of its vowel letters, it easily passed into the Hebrew form *prklit*,—and, by the addition of the Aramæan terminal, into *prklita*. Buxtorf gives it in both forms. At the time our Saviour lived it was vernacular in Syria, as Mr. Higgins justly states, but was not less on that account of exotic growth. The mere circumstance of its being then vernacular, is no proof of Aramæan origin. As well might Mr. Higgins contend, that, because the term *ἑωράς*, *a stranger*, is found in the LXX. and inflected after the manner of Greek nouns, (ὃν τε τοῖς ἑωράις, Exod. xii. 19,) the word must originally belong to the Greek language; and thus fall into the error of Hesychius and others. Whatever “skill and sagacity he might display”* in defending its claims to be regarded as an indigenous Greek term, he would fail in establishing his conclusion: the learned would still be of the opinion, that it originally came either from the Hebrew *ger*, or the Syriac *giur*, signifying *a stranger, a foreigner*. To those of my readers, who are in the habit of bestowing close attention on the sacred volume, these observations will not appear altogether unimportant, neither, I would fain hope, misplaced in the present discussion. Mr. Higgins, it must be recollected, makes high pretensions to critical knowledge: the soundness of his claims can only be ascertained by submitting his explanations to what may seem a minute investigation.

* Apology, p. 85.

That the word under consideration is not *Hebren*, as is boldly stated more than once in the Apology, but *Greek*, I give the following authorities to prove.

ISIDORE: The learned Bishop of Seville, in his work on Etymologies, assigns to παράκλητος a *Greek origin*.

BUXTORF: *Prklita*, *prklit*, advocatus, procurator, intercessor, interpres. Græcum est παράκλητος, paracletus.

SCHAAF: *Prklit*, Gr. paracletus, advocatus.*

CALMET: Paraclet, en Grec παράκλητος, derivé de παρακαλέω, ou, selon une autre prononciation, de l'éta en iota, paraclitus.

I shall add only one authority more:—

ROSENMÜLLER: Paracletus respondet Hebraicæ voci *meelits*, quæ Græcis Bibliorum interpretibus est ἑρμηνευτής, interpres alienæ orationis, sententiæ, Gen. xlii. 23. Chaldæi usi sunt in vocis *meelits* interpretatione nomine *prklit* vel *prklita*, Job. xvi. 20, xxxiii. 23, quod temporibus Evangelistarum vulgari Hebræorum usu cum multis aliis Græcis frequentabatur.—John xiv. 16.

We now come to the signification of the term: and here it turns out after all, that even the “learned and venerable” Marsh is wrong,—Ernesti is wrong,—and, I may add, every Christian expositor. Mr. Higgins alone is entitled to cry in our streets, εὑρηκα, εὑρηκα *I have found out the alloy, I have detected the imposition!* “If,” (says he) “it” [paracletus] “were a Chaldee, Hebrew, or Arabic word used by Jesus, it ought to have the sense given it which the word in these languages means. If it be a Chaldee word derived from

* Lexicon Syriacum.

“an Arabic root, then it ought to be rendered in the
 “meaning which the Arabic root conveys, and then it
 “would be illustrious, or an illustrious person.”* The
 Syracusan solved his problem. And why, I ask, did
 not Mr. Higgins produce his *Arabic root*? Why has
 he not given from the Chaldee version, or paraphrase,
 or from some dusty volume of rabbinical learning, an
 instance,—one single instance at least,—in which *prklit*
 signifies “*illustrious*,” or an “*illustrious person*?” Less
 could hardly have been expected from a writer, who
 puts aside with so little ceremony the explications of
 former critics. But Mr. Higgins has not done this:
 he has not produced an instance, in which *prklit* is
 used in the sense he contends for. His asseverations,
 therefore, however confidently made, go for nothing,
 because destitute of proof. Unsupported assertions are
 of no more value than the Mussulman’s argument,—
 “Christ promised the Paraclete:—therefore Mohamed
 “is the Paraclete.”

Yet is the word of no obscure import: neither
 “uncertainty nor doubt hangs over” its meaning.
 Originally, Paracleti (παράκλητοι) among the Greeks were
 persons who were induced to attend at trials in courts
 of justice, for the purpose of aiding by their presence
 and co-operation, as occasion required, the causes of
 their impleaded connexions. From the circumstance
 of their being invited to be present, they were styled
 παράκλητοι, i. e. *persons sent for, prevailed upon by en-
 treaty to attend*, from παρακαλεῖσθαι, *to be called upon,*
 or *requested to do a thing*:—among the Romans the
 same persons were denominated *advocati*, from *advo-*

* Apology, p. 79.

cari, formed in the same manner, and of equivalent import with the Greek verb. One object of their attendance, though by no means the sole one, being to afford to the accused, if necessary, legal assistance, (*jus suggerere*;) the words *paracletus* and *advocatus* came to be used in a more restricted sense, to denote what we now mean by a pleader, or counsellor at law. These coadjutors, then, if I may so call them, originally came forward at the entreaty of their friends, and gave them their help in any form of support or intercession that might best benefit the accused. Hence, says the learned Budæus,* *παρακαλῶ* means, *pro alio precator intervenio, ut advocatus et patronus*. Unde, continues he, *παρακλήτος dictus τὸ ὅσιον πνεῦμα, ὡς πάντων τὰς παρακλήσεις (preces, obsecrationes) δεχόμενον* that is, as admitting the entreaties of all who earnestly apply for succour and spiritual guidance. In this intercessorial sense the word is applied to Christ, 1 John ii. 1. and properly rendered *advocatus* in the Vulgate version: "And if any man sin, we have an advocate (*Gr. παρακλητῆς*) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." From the passages quoted by Buxtorf under *prkhit*, it is quite clear that the Jews were well acquainted with the forensic signification of the word. How exactly in all points the above definition comprehends the offices of the Holy Spirit, scarcely needs be pointed out. "By guiding into all truth" (John xvi. 13,) the Holy Spirit was to the apostles a *monitor* and an *instructor*. By "speaking in them," (Matt. x. 20,) "by convincing the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment," (John xvi. 8,) the Spirit was an *advocate*, that pleaded for

* Comment. Linguae Græcæ, p. 994, ed. 1530.

them "before kings and governors," and made their cause to triumph against all opposition. Through his aid "the accuser (*κατηγορῆς*) was cast down." (Rev. xii. 10.) Again, "by helping their infirmities" (Rom. viii. 26,) the Spirit sustained them in their arduous cause, and was a *comforter* under every trial. By this promised almighty agent* they were, in a short time after the Saviour left them, endowed with powers adequate to the discharge of their important duties. "Their minds became irradiated with celestial light,

* After attentively weighing the reasons that have induced learned critics to translate *παράκλητος* here by advocate—monitor,—doctor *divinæque veritatis interpres*—I prefer, on the whole, the rendering in our authorized version. The discourse of the Saviour is altogether consolatory. The word "comforter" has this recommendation, that it is in strict harmony with the context, and includes virtually the other senses of the word. Dr. Lightfoot's note upon the word is to my mind conclusive in favour of this term, in preference to any other. "Although the word *prkhit* is in frequent use among the Jews to signify an *advocate*, and that very sense may be allowed to the word *παράκλητος* in this place, yet may it seem more fit and proper to render it by *comforter* at present. For 1, amongst all the names and titles given to the Messiah in the Jewish writers, that of *menahem* or the *Comforter* hath chiefly obtained, and the days of the *Messiah* amongst them, are styled the *days of consolation*, (*Bab. Sankadr.* fol. 98, 2.) The names of Messiah are reckoned up, viz. *Shilo*, *Jinnon*, *Chaninah*, *Menahem*. And in *Jerusalem Berachoth*, fol. 5. 1. we are told, how the Messiah had been born in *Bethlehem* under the name *Menahem*. Luke ii. 25. *Waiting for the consolation of Israel*. Targumist upon Jeremiah xxxi. 6. *Those that desire, or long for the years of consolation to come*. This they were wont to swear by, viz. the desire they had of seeing this consolation. *Erah menahemha*, i. e. *so let me see the consolation*. Now therefore bring these words of our Saviour to what hath been said: q. d. you expect with the rest of this nation the consolation in the *Messiah* and in his presence. Well, I must depart and withdraw my presence from you, but I will send you in my stead, *another Comforter*. II. The minds of the disciples at present were greatly distressed and troubled, so that the promise of a *Comforter* seems more suitable than that of an *Advocate* to their present state and circumstances."—Lightfoot's Works, vol. II. p. 600, folio edition. 1684.

Erasmus renders *παράκλητος* by *consolator*—Beausobre by *consolateur*—Grotius by *causæ actor*—Semler by *monitor*—most of the ancient Greek Fathers by *advocatus*—but Tertullian by *consolator*. Our classical Bishop Pearce prefers *advocate*.

“their faith acquired strength, their knowledge of the will of their divine Master was rendered more perfect, and they were inspired with a zeal and a fortitude, which armed them against every difficulty that it was necessary to encounter in his service, and enabled them in the execution of his commands to triumph even over death itself.”* Now what is there in this view of the Paraclete either uncertain or doubtful? To me I confess it seems perfectly plain, satisfactory, and consistent. But the interpretation, that would resolve the promised Comforter into Mohamed, the enthusiast, born nearly five hundred years after the apostles had descended to the grave:—which would require me to believe, that by *that title* was designated *a leader of armies, one stained with blood, and an enemy to the Christian name*,—does seem, in Mr. Higgins’s own words, to have “great uncertainty and doubt hanging about it;”†—to be, in short, utterly incredible.

Haggai ii. 7,
inapplicable to
Mohamed.

But on recurring to the prophetic books of the Old Testament, uncertainty vanishes. The Saracen is there foretold by NAME. HAGGAI ii. 7. “And I will shake all nations, and the DESIRE of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.” In this verse, the abstract noun *ahmeddoth*, from its root *ahmed*, under the plastic hand of Mr. Higgins, is converted into Mohamed; and the proof of his having been fore-shown by *name* is complete. In justice to Mr. Higgins, I give the passage as it stands in the Apology: “Thus much,” says he, “respecting

* Mosheim’s Commentaries, &c. vol. I. p. 132. † Apology, p. 77.

“the prophecy of Mohamed in the New Testament.
 “But he is also, as his followers say, foretold by name
 “in the Old. The Reverend and very pious Mr. Park-
 “hurst, a most unwilling witness, on the root HMA
 “says, ‘This word is applied to all sorts of sacred
 “things, both of true and false worship, which were
 “to the respective parties eminently the *objects of their*
 “*desire and affections*. See inter al. Hag. ii. 7, and
 “the desire of all nations shall come: *ubau ahmeddoth*
 “*col hajojim*. From this root the pretended prophet
 “Mohammed or Mahomet had his name.’”*

* Apology, p. 80.

We observe in this passage an extraordinary orthographical mistake, which Mr. Higgins has attempted to rectify by an erratum quite as extraordinary. “Erratum: ‘Page 80, line 18, for the *aleph* read a *daleth*, and for H.M.A. ‘read H.M.D.’” On first casting my eyes over these dotted-after capitals, I took them for Roman abbreviations; and supposed the latter by metathesis might stand for something of this kind—*hoc dedit monumentum*,—and the latter, H.M.D. the A. for *abest*, having been omitted, for *huic monumento dolus abest*, i. e. “this book contains no sophistry.” Vide Vales. Probi de Not. Rom. in Corpore Auctorum, p. 1460. By H.M.D. however, we are to understand *ahmed*, “the illustrious.” Mr. Higgins is equally unfortunate in Greek orthography. Thus at page 10 of the Apology, in a note, we find *ἰδλωται* printed for *ἰδλωται*. It can, indeed, be corrected in the second edition, but there will arise this inconvenience, the book will contain a “*various reading*.” Luckily, however, the sense will not be injured: the substitution of the Ω mega for the Ο micron is all that is wanted and the note may then very well stand precisely as it does now. Thus: “‘ἰδλωται, ‘unlearned, men of mean capacities or understandings, they [i. e. the apostles] ‘have been called by some of the early Christian writers, whence, probably, by no ‘very great perversion of language, our term *idiot* has been derived. See the ‘controversy respecting this word betwixt Priestley and Horsley.” (Apol.) In like manner, “the thirty thousand various readings” [Toland’s number, I observe, to an unit] “confessed by divines to exist in the gospels and epistles,” (Apology, p. 88,) may be of a nature so minute and trifling, as not at all to affect the certainty of the Christian religion, notwithstanding Mr. Higgins’s insinuations to the contrary. “The worst manuscript extant,” says Dr. Powell, “would not pervert ‘one article of our faith, or destroy one moral precept.”—Discourses, p. 65, as quoted by Horne in his Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. Appendix, p. 144, ed. 1818.

Whoever was meant in the prediction by the words, "desire of all nations," one thing is plain, that the temple, which was then rearing, was to receive from him a pre-eminent degree of glory. This is so clearly stated in the context, that no interpretation of the prophecy, which does not meet this requirement, is worth regarding. When contrasted with the Temple of Solomon, the House of Zerubbabel was observed to be much inferior in beauty of design and richness of architectural decoration: in this the hopes of the Jews were grievously disappointed: yet even then was it declared, that the presence of the person promised would impart to that building a glory which should be superior to that of the former temple. "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lords of Hosts." It was in this temple, that Jesus of Nazareth in after ages, manifested such zeal for the glory of God, and taught mankind heavenly wisdom. For although it was in a manner rebuilt by Herod after the devastation it suffered from Antiochus Epiphanes, yet enough of the original structure remained, to justify the Jews in regarding it still as the same identical temple: and they continued so to regard it down to the period of its final demolition. It is known that this stately fabric was at length levelled with the ground by the Romans, and the dreadful prediction fulfilled to the letter—"stone shall not be left upon stone." This memorable event happened in the year of our Saviour 70,—and five hundred years before Mohamed lived. When he appeared on the theatre of the world,—the *terror* of nations,—the desire, I cannot call him,—there was no Jewish temple at Jerusalem. Mr. Higgins is too well read in the

annals of that people not to know this,—and with this knowledge I am at a loss to conceive how he can seriously maintain, that Mohamed could be the person intended in this celebrated prophecy! In what sense could he confer celebrity on a building which for centuries past had had no existence? Such an interpretation contradicts the most certain details of history. By the ignorant Mussulman, indeed, I know it is believed, that the very Temple of Solomon, or another on its site, actually existed in the days of their Prophet!! For this I have the authority of Selden. “Certe apud “Mahumedanos supponitur,” says that learned writer, “templum Solomonis ipsum, seu aliud loco ejus positum, seculis recentioribus, adeoque et post excidium “sub Vespasiano et Adriano, atque in *Mahumedis ævo* “ita ibi subinde extitisse, ut de eo, (quemadmodum “etiam Judæi aliqui, veluti de ipsius Solomonis,) loquantur, idque nomine” (I must give Golius’s translation in place of the Arabic characters,) “*Templi “Hierosolymitani.*” * Mr. Higgins here will withhold his concurrence: and yet I cannot well see how, upon his application of the prophecy, he can avoid either sanctioning this gross instance of Mussulman credulity, —or himself falling into an anachronism, which, in point of chronological extravagance, surpasses any thing of the kind found even in the Koran.

As for the argument deduced from the circumstance of *ahmeddoth*, a derivative from *ahmed*, being found in the verse, I cannot see how an abstract noun can be considered in the light of a noun proper: it may in

* Tom. I. de Synedriis Veterum Ebræorum, p. 1702.

construction stand by periphrasis for a proper noun. *Mohamed* is formed from the passive participle of *ahmed* in *Puhal*,—and, according to its etymological signification, means a person greatly celebrated—*valde celebratus*. *Ahmeddoth*, the word in Haggai, is a common substantive of the feminine gender, denoting any thing desirable—*res desiderabilis*; and in construction may stand for the concrete *desideratus*. So Jerome, whom most Christian interpreters have followed, has translated the passage, “*veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*,” rightly considering the words “*ahmeddoth col hagojim*,” as descriptive of the Messiah.* But if, wherever we find a derivative from *ahmed*, we are to trace out in it Mohamed by name, then, as these derivatives occur thirty-three times in the Bible, Mr. Higgins might just as well have maintained, that, instead of the

* Certain anomalies in the construction of the Hebrew in this passage have induced commentators of decided learning and piety to depart, without sufficient reason as it should seem, from the interpretation of St. Jerome. Of this number is Calvin; he would restrict this magnificent prophecy to an assurance of riches and splendour to the second temple. I give his words as quoted, I think, by Drusius. Calvinus: “*Quod gentes accedent, et simul afferent quicquid pretiosum est, ut consecrent ad cultum Dei. Nam Hebræi desiderium vocant, quicquid habetur in pretio, ita hoc nomine comprehendunt omnes divitias, honores, et delicias, et quicquid tale est; ideo quidem sic contextunt—concutiam omnes gentes, et veniet desiderium, ut sit mutatio numeri. Alii subaudiunt Beth vel Mem,—venient cum desiderio; i. e. non venient vacuæ, sed colligent omnes suos thesauros, ut sacra sit Deo oblatio.*” I know not whether the persons in this country, who hold the peculiarities of Calvin’s creed, accede to this view of the prophecy: but from what I have seen of their writings I suppose they do not. In the thirteenth of the “*Exercitationes*,” prefixed to his “*Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*,” Dr. Owen at least espouses and ably defends the other interpretation; that, I mean, which resolves these words into a distinct prophecy of the Messiah, and of the real glory that should accrue to the second temple by his coming into it, while it was yet standing. Dr. Pococke, an unexceptionable authority, understood the prophecy in the sense given by Jerome. (See his Commentary on Malachi, p. 150, vol. I. of his Works.) On the same side is Grotius:—“*desiderium gentium omnium, i. e. quem desiderare omnes gentes debent.*” These are great authorities:—and he who sets them aside must be either a *very learned*, or a *very vain* man.

solitary one he has adduced, there are *thirty-three* predictions of Mohamed by name in the Old Testament. An argument which proves too much proves nothing.

DEUT. xviii. 15.—“The Lord thy God will raise
 “up unto thee a PROPHET from the midst of thy
 “brethren, like unto me;* unto him shall ye hearken.”
 These words by ancient Jewish expositors were referred to a great Prophet, who they supposed would immediately precede the coming of the Messiah. By Christian commentators they are held to be a prediction of Messiah himself, who for this interpretation plead the sanction of inspired authority. “Moses (Acts iii. 22, 23) truly said unto the fathers a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.” To this annunciation of himself the Saviour is with great reason thought to have pointed, when he used the words,—“For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.” (John v. 46.) This prophecy, as a testimony of the Lord Jesus, Mr. Higgins seems inclined to reject; and with the unbelieving Mussulman prefers its appropriation to the son of Abdulla. “A person,” says the Apologist, “having
 “a slight inclination to the religion of the Prophet,

Deut. xviii. 1
 inapplicable
 Mohamed.

* On the Hebrew word *chamoni* rendered “like unto me,” Schubertus observes,
 —“*chamoni* non semper omnimodam æqualitatem, sed quandoque tantum simili-
 tudinem officii et auctoritatis significat.”—*Instit. Theol. Polem.* vol. I. p. 551.

" might easily persuade himself that in his doctrine
 " there was nothing repugnant to the religions of Moses
 " or Jesus, nothing directly at variance with either.
 " Moses had promised in the Pentateuch, that a Prophet
 " greater than himself would be sent by God. So to
 " the ten tribes of Samaria, who were at this time
 " very numerous, and who rejected all the other books
 " of the Old Testament, and who perhaps looked for a
 " conquering Prophet, not a spiritual Messiah, there
 " would appear to be no reason why Mohamed the
 " descendant of Ishmael should not be the man. If
 " they asked for a miracle, the victory of the crescent
 " is the answer, and the sword of the conquering and
 " invincible Prophet, the rod of Aaron, which was
 " giving to him the conquest of the world."*

If Mr. Higgins has really persuaded himself, as seems
 intimated in the above passage, that the Saracen was
 marked out in the prediction under consideration, he
 must either have low ideas of the prophetic character,
 or his mind on some subjects must be strangely
 tinctured with credulity. The reasonings of the adu-
 lating Romanist, who wrote a book to prove that the
 Pope was the prophet of Moses,* and of the fanatic
 who, with like felicity of conjecture, assigned that
 honour to George Fox, the apostle of his party, Mr.
 Higgins would regard in no higher light than as the

* Apology, p. 71, 72.

† Voluit hoc DANIEL HUGUENINUS, Prof. Theol. Duisbergensis, qui relictis
 Reformationum castris ad Romano-Catholicos migraverat anno 1702, et Papam
 promissum hunc Deut. xviii. 15, 18, esse prophetam, asseveravit.—Cf. *Biblioth.*
Brem. t. VII. p. 903.

dreams of weak and melancholy enthusiasts. And he would rightly so regard them. Yet, while he supports the wild fancy of Mohamed being the person intended, does his own reasoning proceed upon surer principles? are his views of interpretation a whit sounder than theirs? He ought to be obliged to that friend, who, on his rating others for credulity, should whisper caution into his ears in the well known words—

——— *Quid rides? mutato nomine, de te*

Fabula narratur.

I appeal to every man's candour, and ask, what was there in the character of Mohamed to bear out his claim to be regarded as a prophet, in the high acceptance of that term, in which the words of Moses, critically considered, require to be received? Did he exemplify in his conduct through life those high and unbending virtues for which the prophets of JEHOVAH, as their characters have come down to us in the Old Testament, were distinguished? Was the zeal for reformation, which he professed, free from the workings of ambition,—a disinterested zeal, proceeding from the love of pure and undefiled religion? What credentials did he ever exhibit of prophetic qualification? We find in the Koran no predictions respecting the fate of cities and empires, of a kind to convince us, that the knowledge of them could proceed from the divine prescience only, and from no other source. We have no instance, in which, at Mohamed's invocations to the Deity, the laws of nature were suspended, and

miracles performed in attestation of his mission. Of these evidences of prophetic qualification not a vestige is to be found in the Koran. Nor is the argument derived from the successes of the Mohamedan arms of any weight to establish Mr. Higgins's interpretation, because it is not true, in point of fact, that Mohamed and his successors ever attained to universal dominion. In the early ages of the Caliphate, the Saracen arms advanced with rapid and terrible desolation. The fairest portions of Asia and Africa submitted to the Crescent: and in consequence Islamism has long prevailed in those countries with undisputed sway. On the side of Europe, with the exception of Spain and the Grecian states, little impression was made; and to the vast regions of the two Americas the Koran continues to be unknown. It is, therefore, but sounding hyperbole in Mr. Higgins to talk about the "sword of the invincible prophet giving to him the conquest of the world." The power, with which the existence of Mohamedanism as a religious system is identified, has long since ceased to be a subject of alarm; and recent events are paving the way for its final removal. Meanwhile, the kingdom of him, THE PROPHET of whom Moses wrote, whom GOD raised up, is extending its salutary influence to the most distant regions. Human events are every where overruled by HIM who governs all things to subserve its progress. The period seems fast drawing on, when the dominion of THAT PROPHET "shall reach from the one sea to the other;" and from the flood unto the world's end:—"when all kings shall fall down before him, and all nations do him service." The attempts of his enemies to

resist his power will be impotent and vain. "For HE
 "that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn;
 "the Lord shall have them in derision."

But what, after all, is the sense which Mr. Higgins affixes to the word "prophet?" This may be collected from the fifth and sixth sections of his publication. He tells us, that the word prophet in the time of Mohamed and long previously did not necessarily convey any idea of supernatural assistance—that we have Paul's authority for believing by *prophesying* nothing but preaching was meant—that Mohamed pretended to no more than this, *at least* in the beginning of his mission—that he conceived himself to be sent by God, or inspired, moved in spirit by God to preach a reformation in the idolatrous practices of his countrymen—that every man may be said to be moved by God, who feels a wish to perform a good work—that such were the prophetic pretensions of Mohamed—a conclusion in which Mr. Higgins feels himself strengthened by the circumstance, that Mohamed is not said by his followers to have ever foretold or pretended to foretel any events. Upon this representation, mere ardent feelings, a strong persuasion that what a man is engaged in is a good work, whether it actually be so or not, make him a prophet. Every enthusiast therefore is a prophet. And if this be all that is meant by the term, then it is not worth while inquiring who, in the capacity of prophet, was intended by Moses—whether any body or nobody? I caution the reader against receiving with implicit credit the representation of the Apologist, that his definition of a prophet corre-

sponds with that left us by St. Paul. The scholar of Gamaliel would not own it. It is no where found in the sacred writings: but came originally, whether Mr. Higgins knows it or not, from the bewildering pages of Spinoza: it is his definition. St. Paul, I am aware, uses the word prophet to signify a *teacher*—an *orator*—*actuator*—one who instructs his hearers in the truths of the Christian dispensation. He also uses it to denote persons whose office it was to celebrate the praises of God in sacred hymns. It is in this sense the word is used in the passage quoted (1 Cor. xi. 4) by Mr. Higgins, rather than in that of “*preaching*,” as he chooses to express it. But in this same epistle, (chap. xii. 28, 29,) we find the word *προφήτης* used in its primary meaning, and standing for one possessed of supernatural endowments. Prophets and teachers, though designated by the same word in the original, in the early church constituted distinct orders; and derived their abilities to teach from a distinct original:—the former from immediate revelation,—the latter by study and human learning.*

One passage more I cannot help noticing, both as it betrays great want of candour, and offends against an established canon of criticism. It occurs in the first page of the Apology. Mr. Higgins is speaking of the distracted state of the Roman empire at the beginning of the seventh century, and of the feuds and animosities which at that period prevailed in the Christian church. “The whole frame,” he remarks, “of society

* See on this subject particularly Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. II. p. 725.

“was loosened, and towns and cities flowed with blood. “Well, indeed,” continues he, “had Jesus prophesied, “when he said, he brought not peace but a sword.”* Now had Mr. Higgins met with such an expression as, “I came not to send peace but a sword,” (Matt. x. 34,) in any other work, under like circumstances in reference to its general contents, I venture to affirm that he would at once have understood it as declarative, not of the *intention*, but plainly of the *event*. He would have applied the common and well known rule of interpretation I here give in the words of Bishop Copleston: “So far “is it,” says he, “from being the rule of interpreting “Scripture to infer design, whenever an event is related “or foretold, that it has even long been recognised as “an established principle among biblical critics to *invert* this rule, where the context or subject-matter “seemed to require it: that is, to interpret many passages in which a form of speech usually expressive of “*design* is employed, as if the purpose merely was to “set forth the actual *event*. For example, ‘I am not “come to send peace on earth but a sword.’ Does [*any* “*one*] understand these words as equally expressive of “our Lord’s design with that benevolent declaration, “‘The Son of man is not come to destroy men’s lives, “but to save them?’”† Had Mr. Higgins attended to this obvious rule, the blame would have fallen where it ought to rest,—not on the head of the meek and lowly Saviour, but on those wicked men, whose prejudices and opposition to the truth, caused those feuds and quarrels which produced so many evils.

* Apology, p. 1.

† Four Discourses on Necessity and Predestination, p. 101.

Conclusion. The four heads, under which it was proposed to arrange my remarks upon Mr. Higgins's publication, have now been gone through. It was not from any love which I have for theological controversy, that I engaged in the work. The sentiment conveyed in the following passage of a Letter from Sir William Jones to Dr. Parr, exactly meets my views and feelings; and merits from Mr. Higgins particular attention. "Surely the contemplation of God's works and God's ways, the respectable task of making men virtuous, may employ the forty or fifty years you have to live more serenely, more laudably, and more profitably than the vain warfare of controversial divinity, or the dark mines and countermines of uncertain metaphysics." But the case is different where revelation itself is assailed, whether directly, or by insinuation. Nothing but the reflections against Christianity, cast by Mr. Higgins from behind the shield of Mohamed, could have induced me to enter the arena with so respectable a neighbour, and a gentleman from whom I have received the most friendly attentions. It was this feature of his work only which prevailed with me to step from the privacy of retired and humble life. It has been my desire to preserve through the discussion the temper of a liberal disputant,—but not on any one point to compliment away the truth. Others must decide how far I have succeeded in my task, and in what degree the observations that have been hazarded are historically and critically correct.

Of the clergy, and the treatment they have received at the hands of Mr. Higgins, I have said nothing. They are well competent to defend themselves. In

that body are men of the highest attainments; sound scholars without ostentation, and Christians without bigotry. That they should be objects of vituperation with persons of sceptical principles, cannot excite surprise, and is no ground of discredit. While they do the office of faithful watchmen, combating error in whatever form it appears, and maintaining by example and argument the claims of religion and morality, they will have on their side the suffrages of all good and right thinking men, and what to them will be a higher consolation, the consciousness that to the best of their ability they have done their duty, "through evil report and good report."

Mr. Higgins occasionally indulges in anecdote: with an anecdote I shall close my observations. It is related of Selden,* whom I have often had occasion to quote,—the antagonist of Grotius,—that before he died he saw the emptiness of human learning. The only consolation he then found, as he admitted to his friend Archbishop Usher, was in the promises of immortal life contained in Holy Scripture. He observed, "that he had his study full of books and of most subjects in the world: yet at that time he could not recollect any passage out of infinite books and manuscripts he was master of, wherein he could rest his soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures; wherein the most remarkable

* John Selden, sometimes styled "The great dictator of learning of the English nation," and pronounced by Grotius his antagonist, to be the glory of it, was a man of as extensive and profound knowledge as any of his age. He was thoroughly skilled in every thing that related to his own profession; but the general bent of his studies was to sacred and profane antiquity.—Granger. The same writer observes, "His 'History of Tithes' gained him more enemies than any of his works, and his 'Mare clausum usum' did him the most honour."

“passage that lay most upon his spirit was Titus ii.
“ 11, 12, 13, 14 verses.”*

The verses are these :—

“ FOR THE GRACE OF GOD THAT BRINGETH SAL-
“ VATION HATH APPEARED TO ALL MEN, TEACHING
“ US THAT, DENYING UNGODLINESS AND WORLDLY
“ LUSTS, WE SHOULD LIVE SOBERLY, RIGHTEOUSLY,
“ AND GODLY, IN THIS PRESENT WORLD: LOOKING
“ FOR THAT BLESSED HOPE, AND THE GLORIOUS
“ APPEARING OF THE GREAT GOD AND OUR SA-
“ VIOUR JESUS CHRIST; WHO GAVE HIMSELF FOR
“ US, THAT HE MIGHT REDEEM US FROM ALL
“ INIQUITY, AND PURIFY UNTO HIMSELF A PECU-
“ LIAR PEOPLE, ZEALOUS OF GOOD WORKS.”

* See Dr. Wilkins's *Life* of this most learned man prefixed to his *Works*, p. xly.

THE END.

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